



Daily Report

Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-88-143

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26 July 1988**

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Soviet Inspection Team Arrives in U.S.

LD2607055588 Moscow TASS in English 0539 GMT
26 Jul 88

[Text] San Francisco July 26 TASS—By TASS correspondent Andrey Sidorin:

A team of Soviet inspectors arrived today at the Travis Air Force Base, near San Francisco, to verify compliance with the provisions of the Intermediate Nuclear Forces Treaty. This team will join 22 experts from the Soviet Union, who are staying in Magna, Utah, in the area of the plant producing components for the Pershing-2 missiles, which are due to be destroyed under the Soviet-U.S. treaty.

O.P. Shagov, deputy head of the Soviet inspecting team, noted the good will and constructive atmosphere which marked the first stage of the on-site inspections. He stressed that the American side created the necessary conditions which testified to the striving to fulfil the provisions of the INF treaty.

Welcoming the Soviet team on behalf of the command of the Travis Air Force Base, Colonel England pointed out that the on-site inspections, currently under way in the USA and the USSR, were part of the historical process which signified the beginning of the nuclear disarmament process. The successful implementation of the INF Treaty provisions, Lieutenant Jablonski, an American military spokesman, said, would promote progress on the way towards a Soviet-U.S. treaty and in the field of strategic offensive weapons.

Anti-War Groups To Attend Missile Destruction

LD2507160188 Moscow TASS in English 1530 GMT
25 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 25 TASS—About 30 representatives of the International Anti-War Movement will watch a historic event—the first act of elimination of Soviet missiles under the INF Treaty at Saryozek in Soviet Kazakhstan on August 1, Vladimir Orel, deputy chairman of the Soviet Peace Committee, announced today.

During the discussion of the Soviet-U.S. INF Treaty in the USSR Supreme Soviet, he said in an interview with a TASS correspondent, the Peace Committee came forward with the idea of creating a system of international public control over its realisation. Because the signing of the INF Treaty, Vladimir Orel pointed out, became possible in many respects due to active participation of various public groups and organizations in the anti-war movement. It is only natural that these organizations are interested in honest and consistent implementation of the treaty provisions by the sides.

The presence of representatives of the international public along with American inspectors, Soviet and foreign journalists, will lend a still greater significance to the missile eliminating act.

Vladimir Orel said that the committee had received a positive reply from Dmitriy Yazov, minister of defence of the USSR, to its request to allow a group of representatives of foreign anti-war movements and the Soviet peace movement to be present at the first missile eliminating act.

The spokesman for the Soviet Peace Committee said invitations had been sent out, in particular, to representatives of the U.S. SANE-Freeze Anti-War Movement, the U.S. Peace Council, and the 'Centre for Defense Information' public organization. Also present will be activists from Western countries, where Pershing-2 missiles are stationed, from the German Democratic Republic and Czechoslovakia, where Soviet missiles are sited.

Representatives of anti-war movements of all nuclear powers, the Nonaligned Movement, and a number of international organizations have been invited, too. From Latin America, representatives of Nicaragua will be present.

The role of the international peace-loving public does not end with the signing of the treaty. While the inspectors of the two countries will monitor the observance of the 'letter' of the treaty, the public will seek to develop the 'spirit' of the treaty, giving a new impulse to the anti-war movement towards the earliest conclusion of new agreements and, first of all, a treaty on a 50 percent cut in strategic offensive arms, pointed out the deputy chairman of the Soviet Peace Committee.

Bulgaria Supports Aircraft Withdrawal

LD2507215488 Moscow TASS in English 2049 GMT
25 Jul 88

[Text] Sofia July 25 TASS—The People's Republic of Bulgaria fully supports the readiness expressed by the Soviet Union to withdraw from forward-based position in East Europe its aircraft similar to F-16 fighter bombers, if NATO agrees not to deploy in Italy its 72 F-16 fighter bombers which Spain refused. This is said in a statement of a spokesman for the Bulgarian Foreign Ministry made to the Bulgarian news agency.

The decision to re-deploy F-16 fighter bombers causes concern of the Bulgarian public. The deployment of more fighter bombers close to the Balkans will considerably lessen the positive results achieved by the signing of the historic Soviet-American treaty on intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles. In no case will it promote the development of a multilateral dialogue in the Balkans on questions of security and confidence, on creation in the region of a zone free from weapons of mass destruction. The implementation of this decision would not promote the elimination of the existing imbalance and asymmetry in the southern and south eastern flanks of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization, would hamper the efforts of Mediterranean countries and peoples aimed at turning the area into a zone of peace and cooperation.

Bulgaria is convinced that the implementation of the new Soviet proposal would become a real step toward lowering the military confrontation in the European Continent, specifically, in the southern and south-eastern flanks of the two military-political alliances, would promote confidence-building among European countries, the statement says.

Retired Military Officers Visit Leningrad
*LD2407162388 Moscow TASS in English 1528 GMT
24 Jul 88*

[Text] Leningrad July 24 TASS—After the conclusion in Moscow of the second Soviet-American conference of retired generals and admirals fighting for disarmament, its participants spent three days in Leningrad. Their stay in Leningrad was concluded with a visit to the Hermitage to see its unique collection. The conference was organized by the Soviet Peace Committee and the public group "Retired Soviet Generals and Admirals for Peace and Disarmament" formed at the committee two years ago.

The conference was of much importance. After a lapse of 40 years, Soviet and American servicemen, now in retirement, met again as comrades-in-arms, said head of the U.S. delegation, retired Rear Admiral Gene La Rocque. He said the purpose of the retired servicemen from the two countries is to avert nuclear menace, to ensure international security. He said life has proved that it is stupid to try to resolve disputed questions by force. He said the meeting showed that the military can have the common language. A regular conference will be held in Washington in April 1989.

Retired Major-General Yevgeniy Nozhin representing Soviet military leaders noted that the meeting of the military of the two countries proved the viability and

importance of the movement. Not all differences by far have been lifted, but one thing is clear that dialogue can and must be continued, Yevgeniy Nozhin emphasized.

U.S. Scientist on SDI, Krasnoyarsk Radar
*LD2507101788 Moscow KRSNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 24 Jul 88 First Edition p 3*

[TASS report: "Expert's Opinion"]

[Text] Washington, 23 Jul—Robert Bowman, president of the Institute for Space and Security Studies, has delivered a sharp rebuke to U.S. official spokesmen who allege that the Soviet Union is violating the ABM Treaty and that the "Strategic Defense Initiative" is of "purely defensive significance." Administration spokesmen, he points out, have recently taken once again to alleging that the Soviet Union is violating the ABM Treaty in connection with the construction of a radar station in the Krasnoyarsk area.

"And yet, back in 1987," Bowman writes in a special bulletin of the Institute for Problems of SDI and Strategic Arms Control, "a delegation of the U.S. Congress visited the Krasnoyarsk radar station and brought back irrefutable evidence that it is not intended for directing combat operations." In addition, last October the Soviet Union ceased all work on the Krasnoyarsk radar station, and that moratorium remains in force.

Those who groundlessly accuse the Soviet Union of violating the ABM Treaty, Bowman points out, are doing so with the sole purpose of preparing the ground for a unilateral U.S. withdrawal from this very important treaty so as to clear the way for the creation [sozdaniye] of SDI systems and their launching into space. The advocates of this course are not at all concerned about creating [sozdaniye] a "defensive shield" for all U.S. territory—which, even in the admission of certain Pentagon departments, is simply impossible from the technical viewpoint—but are seeking "absolute military superiority."

'Major Result' of Pact Committee Meeting

LD2507171988 Moscow TASS in English 1646 GMT
25 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 25 TASS—The elaboration of military, political, economic and humanitarian components of the concept of a 'common European home' and the adoption of a platform for talks on reductions in the armed forces and the conventional arms in Europe are the major result of the recent meeting of the Political Consultative Committee (PCC) of the Warsaw Treaty member states.

Pointing this out, political leaders, public figures and media emphasize in comment on the results of the PCC meeting in Warsaw that the new initiatives of socialist countries embody a programme for breaking the present vicious circle and ensuring a transition from words to deeds in the field of substantial reductions in the armed forces and conventional arms in Europe—from the Atlantic to the Urals.

The priority task of talks on this subject is radically to cut the military potentials of the Warsaw Treaty Organization (WTO) and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) down to such a level when the potentials would be enough for defence but insufficient for a surprise attack.

Why is this of particular importance? Europe is part of the planet where the two military and political blocs directly face each other and where millions of servicemen, tens of thousands of tanks, aircraft and huge arsenals of ammunition are concentrated. In the conditions of the European Continent, all the weaponry, which is referred to as conventional, by its deadly power nears that of nuclear one.

This is why measures to reduce and eliminate the danger of a surprise attack should become an integral part of the process of cutting down the military potentials of WTO and NATO. The point is, in particular, to create zones of a lowered level of arms along the lines of contact of the two alliances. The most dangerous and destabilising types of conventional arms would be withdrawn or at least reduced in such zones.

The West's assertions as to ostensible superiority of the Soviet Armed Forces in Europe have been hindering the cause of disarmament for years. An effective verification system, which is provided for in the initiatives of socialist countries, will make deception impossible. The

implementation of the socialist countries' initiative concerning an exchange of data on their armed forces in Europe before accords are reached would undoubtedly build up the sides' confidence. This would, thereby, open the way to the elimination of imbalances and asymmetries and the way to the lowest level of defensive potentials.

It is believed in the Soviet Union that the holding of an All-European Reykjavik-type meeting, which was suggested by Mikhail Gorbachev in the speech in the Polish Sejm, can substantially promote success in this respect. Such meeting can provide an effective political impulse to the process of real disarmament in Europe.

Loginov Rejects Brezhnev Doctrine on Sovereignty

AU2507141588 Vienna NEUE KRONEN-ZEITUNG
in German 23 Jul 88 p 3

[Kurt Seinitz article: "Kremlin Politician in Vienna: No One Can Impose His System on Others"]

[Excerpt] Vienna—In Vienna, Vadim Loginov, a leading staff member in the CPSU Central Committee's International Affairs Department and delegate to Gorbachev's spectacular reform congress, has buried the so-called Brezhnev doctrine of the East European countries' limited sovereignty, and has stressed the reshaping of relations. At one time, the Brezhnev doctrine had served to justify the march into the CSSR.

Asked by NEUE KRONEN-ZEITUNG whether glasnost and perestroika have created a new position, in other words, whether communist countries would now have the right to abolish their existing system, or whether this would still be considered "counterrevolutionary," Vadim Loginov stated on principle: "All peoples and all countries have the right to choose their social, economic, and political system by their own will, and in this respect nobody has the right to interfere, no matter whether it is a counterrevolution or a revolution."

Skepticism About EC [subhead]

Regarding the problem of Austria's membership in the EC, the Kremlin politician expressed the Soviet leadership's continuing skepticism: "Austria's leadership will certainly think conscientiously about whether such a step can be reconciled with the state treaty and neutrality. In doing so, it will have to ask the question whether Austria wants to lose its foreign political face. I may suggest in this context that we take a look at the Austria Center, for instance, where the EC represents a single position at the CSCE. There is one EC spokesman, and strict discipline prevails." [passage omitted]

Gorbachev Cables WHO, UNICEF Officials
*LD2507150688 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1415 GMT 25 Jul 88*

[Text] Moscow, 25 Jul (TASS)—Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, has sent a message of reply to Heroshi Nakajima, WHO director general, and James Grant, UNICEF executive director, which says:

Esteemed Sirs: Thank you for your message. The ideas and aims of which you are in favor are most widely supported in our country.

The Soviet Union places a high value on the humanitarian activity of the WHO and UNICEF. The life of each person is the ultimate, the constant value. In particular, the life of children, the future of our planet. As the 20th century wanes, the world community can no longer accept that millions of children are dying every year. Our aim is to save them.

As a concrete contribution to the realization of this aim, our country is willing to increase its annual subscription to UNICEF, and to put at WHO's disposal the potential of Soviet scientific research institutions for international research into developing and testing new effective vaccines, and also teams of specialists for carrying out the immunization of children in developing countries.

I again confirm our willingness to continue to do all we can to ensure that the world is not only liberated from nuclear arms, violence, and hatred, but also receives the resources necessary for resolving global problems of significance for all mankind.

I wish WHO and UNICEF success in carrying out the noble and important tasks facing them.

Vienna CSCE Meeting at 'Decisive Stage'
*PM2507133788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
22 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 4*

[Own correspondent S. Tosunyan report under rubric "Facts, Events, Opinions": "Decisive Stage at Vienna Meeting"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Since nine neutral and non-aligned countries submitted the draft final document for examination in the middle of May, visits to Vienna by high-ranking foreign policy department officials from various countries have become more frequent. Quite recently plenary sessions of the Vienna meeting were addressed by the FRG and French foreign ministers. They both thanked the authors of the draft for creating a suitable basis for drawing up a "balanced and universally acceptable document" and voiced the hope that the Vienna meeting could reach its conclusion this summer.

Setting out the position of the FRG Government, H.-D. Genscher said: The process begun in Stockholm of building confidence in the military sphere should be continued by the adoption of a mandate in Vienna to work out a second set of confidence- and security-building measures. All the states involved in the meeting are unanimous in their opinion on this. The problems remaining in connection with the mandate could be pragmatically solved.

According to French Foreign Minister R. Dumas, the draft final document submitted by the neutral and non-aligned countries is not only a basis on which the 35 states can work but also a point of balance for reaching a final consensus. He urged that the number of amendments made to the draft be limited and, moreover, that amendments be made only to the point.

Unfortunately, the ministers' appeals have gone unheeded. In the economic cooperation section alone the Western delegations have introduced some 30 amendments to the proposed draft of the final document. Discussing and agreeing on these amendments will require extra time. Consequently even the most optimistic participants in the forum have begun to doubt the feasibility of approving the final document as planned—by the end of July.

An accord has already been reached on most of the fundamental issues and people here are voicing the hope that the Vienna meeting will fulfill its task of drawing up a program of collaboration between the 35 states in foreign policy, trade and the economy, ecology, and the humanitarian sphere.

Genscher Interviewed

*LD2407081088 Moscow TASS in English 0704 GMT
24 Jul 88*

[Text] Bonn July 24 TASS—TASS correspondent Vladimir Smelov reports:

The Vienna meeting of representatives of countries participating in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe should end with an adoption of the final document as early as possible so that talks on conventional arms cuts could be started already this year, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, West German foreign minister, said in an interview with the Deutschfunk radio station.

He said that despite the fact that some issues were still remaining open, there was a good opportunity at present to achieve mutual understanding between East and West.

According to Genscher, the Warsaw Treaty states were also interested in the earliest beginning of the conventional arms talks.

EEC Ministers Discuss Relations With CEMA
*LD2507215188 Moscow TASS in English 2101 GMT
25 Jul 88*

[Text] Brussels July 25 TASS—TASS correspondent Albert Balebanov reports:

At the current two-day session of the Council of Ministers of the European Economic Community (EEC), the foreign ministers today discussed ways and prospects for the development of relations between the EEC and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA), and between EEC and individual CMEA countries.

Willy de Clercq, member of the Commission of the European Communities (CEC), told journalists that the foreign ministers of twelve West European countries declared in favour of intensifying most diverse exchanges between EEC and CMEA, including those in such fields as the environment, the power industry, fisheries, and sea transport. He said the session confirmed the principle of parallelism in relations between EEC and CMEA and between EEC and individual CMEA countries, which was sealed by the CMEA-EEC Joint Declaration, with due regard for the specifics of each individual partner for cooperation.

The member of the CEC said further that during the discussion of the question of CMEA-EEC relations the ministers laid emphasis on the need to observe the principle of reciprocity which is universally accepted in international practice. Their opinion is that agreements which have already been signed or which are yet to be signed should be of benefit to each of the sides, Willy de Clercq pointed out.

The CEC member said the ministers showed particular interest in the restructuring process taking place in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

In this connection Leo Tindemans, Belgian minister for external relations, recalled his proposal to hold a special meeting of EEC foreign ministers in October this year to consider specific spheres and forms of cooperation both between the two international economic organizations and between EEC and CMEA member countries.

Giulio Andreotti, Italian minister of foreign affairs, for his part, spoke out in favour of cooperation between Western and Eastern Europe to be maintained not only between CMEA and EEC but also to cover the political field. "We should take a global view of our relations with socialist countries," he emphasized.

The session of the EEC Council of Ministers will come to a close tomorrow.

UN Head on Talks With Iranian, Iraqi Envoys
*PM2507114588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
23 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 4*

[TASS report under the rubric "Facts, Events, Opinions": "Consultations in the UN Security Council"]

[Text] New York, 22 Jul—The UN Security Council held urgent consultations Thursday evening during which UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar gave information on his talks with Iraqi and Iranian representatives on issues concerning implementation of Security Council Resolution 598 (on ways to settle the Iran-Iraq conflict).

According to 'Ismat Kittani, Iraqi permanent representative to the United Nations, at a news conference, his country's government is in favor of direct talks with Iran under the aegis of the UN secretary general. He expressed regret at Iran's refusal to enter into such talks and, at the same time, said that Iraq has still not consented to receive in Baghdad the group of UN military experts which are to be sent to both countries to work out the conditions of a cease-fire following an announcement by Perez de Cuellar on Wednesday. This question, Kittani pointed out, is now being considered.

In turn, Mohammad J'afar Mahallati, Iranian acting permanent representative to the United Nations, told journalists that Perez de Cuellar agreed with the opinion that Resolution 598 does not oblige the sides to enter into direct talks. According to the provisions of the resolution, the UN secretary general is empowered by the Security Council to conduct negotiations with Iran and Iraq, the Iranian representative noted. Mahallati said that Iran is ready to send high-ranking representatives to New York at any time for talks with Perez de Cuellar.

Korionov Sees Progress on Regional Conflicts
*PM2607080188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
24 Jul 88 Second Edition p 4*

[Vitaliy Korionov "International Review": "The World This Week"]

[Text] Socialism's Appeal [subhead]

The axis of international life is clearly turning away from confrontation toward cooperation, mutual understanding, and talks. But could it be said that a change for the better has already occurred? No, such a conclusion would be premature. The situation on the planet remains complex and contradictory. Nonetheless, the trend toward improvement of interstate relations and talks is making its way across artificially created obstacles and accretions.

The signing of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles gave a new dimension to international relations and opened prospects for extending the disarmament process to other

types of weapons. The chance that has emerged must not be missed. This is the appeal to countries and people by the Warsaw conference of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee.

The European Continent is now gaining a more realistic opportunity than ever before to cast off the yoke of armaments. Speaking of the proposals by the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee contained in his speech at the Polish Sejm session, Andreas von Buelow, leading expert in military policy from the Social Democratic Party of Germany faction in the West German Bundestag, said: These proposals indicate once again the Soviet leadership's serious approach to disarmament and the groundlessness of NATO's deliberations about the supposed "propaganda nature of Moscow's actions."

Now these "actions" are backed by the strength and prestige of all Warsaw Pact countries. The realistic and constructive nature of these proposals has been backed by many eminent statesmen and politicians in West Europe, noting that the Warsaw Pact documents "open a window on Europe's future" and indicate further alignment of the positions of East and West. Not to waste time, not to miss any favorable chances through all sorts of procrastinations—this is how the question is posed today by sober-minded politicians in West Europe and the United States alike.

As regards NATO headquarters, hitherto it has only stated that the Warsaw Pact countries' proposals are being studied. Of course they should be studied, but it is essential to strike while the iron is hot. And NATO figures show no desire to do this. The West German newspaper GENERAL-ANZEIGER complains: The East has a comprehensive concept on the question of mutual reductions of armed forces and conventional arms in the event of talks commencing, but the West is unfortunately far from being in this position.

The adoption of the document "Consequences of the Arms Race for the Environment and Other Aspects of Ecological Security" offers tangible proof of the closeness of mankind's vital interests to the socialist countries' hearts.

Scientists, international and national public organizations, and the United Nations issue increasingly loud warnings about the ecological disaster threatening mankind. Some time ago Lester Brown, president of the "Worldwatch" Scientific Research Institute operating in the United States, published a report entitled "The World Situation" which noted that "one of the most important indicators of the Earth's health—its forest cover" is now in a disastrous state. Some 11 million hectares of tropical forests disappear every year. Furthermore, 31 million hectares of forests in industrially developed countries have been damaged as a result of atmospheric pollution and "acid rain." Each year 26 billion tonnes of the Earth's fertile topsoil are being washed

away by rain or blown away by winds, while desert areas increase by 6 million hectares. Thousands of flora and fauna species disappear. The U.S. experts did not limit themselves to diagnosis alone in their report. They calculated that, in order to restore the ecology's health, a sum of approximately \$150 billion would have to be spent each year for this purpose. The necessary funds, they declare, can be provided by reducing the world's military expenditure by just one-sixth of its current annual total of around \$900 billion.

It was this aspect of the matter that the Warsaw Pact states emphasized with full force. They declared that they give special attention to the danger posed to the environment and to life itself on our planet by the stockpiles of nuclear weapons, which are fraught with the threat of global devastation as a result of deliberate use, miscalculation, or accident. The socialist countries declared that they will continue to actively cooperate in the solution of immediate problems concerning the protection of the environment and protection against wars and the consequences of the arms race.

Becoming Part of Our Life [subhead]

The 43d anniversary of the days when U.S. nuclear militarism cold-bloodedly used the atomic weapons it had created against Hiroshima and Nagasaki will be marked early next month. Since then the real threat of a nuclear apocalypse has hung over mankind. The Soviet Union has countered this danger by an expanded and realistic program for the complete elimination of nuclear weapons. When the Soviet Union named a specific date—the year 2000—for the solution of this task in its well-known 15 January 1986 statement, not many people in the world believed that its solution was feasible.

But in early August this year, explosions which will destroy the first batches of OTR-22 and OTR-23 missiles (known in the West as SS-12 and SS-23), due for elimination under the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, will be heard near Saryozek, Taldy-Kurgan Oblast. This will be the start of the countdown to practical nuclear disarmament. The Soviet idea of freeing mankind from the nuclear nightmare is being implemented.

Of course, movement in this direction is accompanied by major difficulties, but it is continuing nevertheless. We recently witnessed an event which would have been unimaginable 1-2 years ago: Marshal of the Soviet Union S. Akhromeyev, USSR first deputy defense minister and chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff, visited the United States at the invitation of Admiral W. Crowe, chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff. How unusual it was to see our television sets showing pictures of the Soviet red flag flying next to the U.S. flag at the Pentagon! A plan for contacts between the USSR and U.S. Armed Forces in 1988-1990, an extremely rich plan, was drawn up.

In accordance with the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, 70 Soviet inspectors are now in the United States carrying out inspections at U.S. Air Force facilities where missiles and missile components due for elimination are sited. At the same time, a group of U.S. inspectors arrived in the USSR headed by General R. Lajoie, director of the U.S. Department of Defense On-Site Inspection Agency.

A group of Soviet specialists is at the Nevada test site for next week's latest Soviet-U.S. experiment, which is meant to confirm the possibility of using currently available apparatus to establish reliable monitoring of underground nuclear explosions. A little later, a similar experiment will be carried out near Semipalatinsk, and a group of U.S. scientists has already arrived in the USSR to take part in it. In this way, the Soviet-U.S. accords reached during President R. Reagan's Moscow visit are yielding fruit.

The second Soviet-U.S. conference of retired generals and admirals, held in Moscow last week, is a link in the general chain of the development of USSR-U.S. relations. The actual topic of the conference—"Need for New Political and Military Thinking and for Specific Steps in the Disarmament Sphere"—offered an opportunity to review the stereotypes which are especially firmly rooted in the military sphere.

The front of the struggle for a nuclear-free and nonviolent world is expanding. Preparations are under way in Brazil for the unofficial meeting of representatives from 22 African and South American countries, due to open in that country's capital in the next few days to examine the question of creating a zone of peace and cooperation in the South Atlantic. We have before us yet another confirmation of the fact that countries and peoples are persistently seeking ways to free themselves from the danger of war.

Let me remind readers that it was 3 years ago, in August 1985, that a session of the South Pacific Forum countries held on Rarotonga Island (Cook Islands) proclaimed the Treaty on a Nuclear-Free Zone in the South Pacific. The USSR was the first nuclear power to sign Protocols No 2 and No 3 to the Rarotonga Treaty. As for the United States, it refused to join the treaty. The treaty came into force in December 1986. The intention of 22 African and South American countries to examine the question of creating a zone of peace and cooperation in the South Atlantic is a pleasing phenomenon against the background of incessant military activity by militarist forces in this part of the world.

Around the Negotiating Table [subhead]

The new political thinking is gathering strength, offering an opportunity to solve questions which were getting tied into increasingly tight knots for years on end. Tangible

proof of this can be seen in the emergence of a more favorable atmosphere for the peaceful settlement of regional armed conflicts which continue to tear our planet apart.

People both in the Soviet Union and all over the world welcome with great satisfaction Iran's decision to officially recognize UN Security Council Resolution 598 on the Iran-Iraq conflict. From the very start of the war in that region, the Soviet Union has persistently and consistently advocated the cessation of the senseless slaughter and the question's solution through a peaceful and all-embracing settlement on the basis of Resolution 598. These efforts, just like the efforts by other peace-loving states and the United Nations, are finally beginning to bear fruit. The United Nations is already sending military experts to Iran and Iraq to work out terms for a cease-fire agreement.

True enough, the fires of war are still raging there. Crimson clouds are still hanging over the Persian Gulf. Some typical data were published a few days ago in the United States: Since the United States launched its "shipping protection" operation a year ago, the number of incidents involving merchant ships in the Gulf has increased by 61 percent. Nonetheless, Washington insists that it does not intend to withdraw its military armada from these waters and will remain the "heavy-weight" there, even though recent events have shown with particular clarity that this is a game involving the lives of totally innocent civilians. Israel is also trying to get mixed up in the process of blocking a peaceful settlement, fearing that a cessation of the Iran-Iraq war would narrow Tel Aviv's field for aggressive anti-Arab actions. Nevertheless, light can be seen at the end of the tunnel.

A few days ago, as a result of talks in New York, experts from Angola, Cuba, and South Africa, with U.S. mediation, succeeded in elaborating a document entitled "Principles of Peaceful Settlement in South West Africa," which has now been submitted for examination by the governments of the countries concerned. The joint communique states that "the discussions were held in a constructive spirit and were positive." It is envisaged that South African troops will withdraw from Angola. Angola and Cuba will move toward a gradual withdrawal of the Cuban contingent. A new round of talks is due to be held soon. Evidently, prospects are emerging for a start to be made on extinguishing the "minor war" in that region too. Conditions are emerging for implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 435 on Namibia, whose territory is used by Pretoria as its main bridgehead and support base for aggression against Angola. It is suggested that the permanent members of the Security Council would guarantee the freedom of every state in the region to pursue its development and social progress in conditions of peace.

As a result of the national reconciliation policy persistently pursued by the PRK Government, a qualitatively new situation is developing in the process of a Cambodian settlement. It had already been reported that the

SRV had announced that one-half of the Vietnamese volunteers now in Cambodia, in other words 50,000 men, would be withdrawn from there in 1988. The command of Vietnamese volunteers remaining in Cambodia for the time being had been handed over to the PRK Defense Ministry. Representatives of governments, international organizations, and all those with an interest in the Cambodian problem have been invited to observe the troop withdrawal, which will be completed not later than 1990. It was noted during the 20 July Kremlin meeting between the Soviet and Vietnamese leaders that the upcoming "unofficial meeting" in Jakarta (journalists are already dubbing it the "cocktail party") will help to deepen mutual understanding between the Indochina and ASEAN states.

It is becoming increasingly evident that the conclusion of the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan has provided an incentive for solving armed conflicts in other parts of the world on the basis of the principles of national reconciliation. There can be no argument that this is a very

complex process. This is clearly visible from the example of Afghanistan itself, where the process of national reconciliation is fraught with difficulties that have to be combated. The counterrevolution is furiously resisting. A total of 177 missiles were launched against Kabul on 15, 17, 19, and 20 July alone, killing 75 civilians, including 21 children, and injuring 97 persons. Cities and population centers in other provinces in the country have come under fire in the last few days. Large consignments of weapons for counterrevolutionary detachments are still being shipped from Pakistani territory, and training centers for the Afghan opposition are still operating there. Moreover, according to press reports, there has been a recent increase in the number of foreign advisers, including Americans, among the groups of "implacables" who are conducting military operations in Afghanistan's territory.

Nonetheless, the policy of national reconciliation is making its way in Afghanistan and elsewhere on the planet. A great future lies ahead for it.

United States & Canada

Reagan Says U.S. Ready for Talks With Iran *LD2507232788 Moscow TASS in English 2252 GMT 25 Jul 88*

[Text] Washington July 26 TASS—President Ronald Reagan of the United States said Monday [25 July] he is ready to talk to Iran, "if they're ready".

Answering questions of reporters at the conclusion of a White House Rose Garden ceremony honouring young men who plan to study politics and government, Reagan said: "If they're willing and ready to talk. It's time".

Earlier on the same day, White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater said that the United States was interested in establishing a dialogue with Iran but only with a responsible representative of the Iranian Government. "We have not received any response", he said.

War Criminal's Extradition Demanded in Ukraine *LD2607092788 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0900 GMT 26 Jul 88*

[Text] Kiev, 26 Jul (TASS)—Participants in a meeting in Volodarsk-Volkynskiy (Soviet Ukraine) have sent a request to the U.S. President to hand over to Soviet justice Aleksandr Iling, a war criminal hiding in the United States.

In the years of the temporary occupation of Zhitomir Oblast by the Nazis, A. Iling was the chief of the Volodarsk-Volkynskiy Rayon police. The blood of hundreds of civilians is on his hands. He was the organizer and executor of cruel punitive operations.

Speakers at the meeting were those who witnessed his misdeeds and those who by happy chance escaped from the prisons of the police he commanded. Iling showed exceptional cruelty in destroying two groups of collective farm activists. They were tortured, beaten with crowbars and iron bars. It has been established that he threw grenades at old people, women, and children rounded up in the place of execution. He did not even spare cripples. After escaping to Germany along with the Nazi, Iling then made his way to the United States where he lives to this day, concealing his bloody past. He is now the owner of a furniture factory in California.

Army Daily Criticizes Lehman Remarks *PM2607090788 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 24 Jul 88 First Edition p 3*

[Observer M. Ponomarev article: "Mr R. Lehman's Credo"]

[Text] Traditions and continuity are, of course, a good thing in themselves. On one condition: If they are good traditions and if it is continuity in good deeds. It can,

unfortunately, be the other way around. This, in particular, was graphically demonstrated recently by Ronald F. Lehman, U.S. assistant defense secretary for international security policy.

Lehman recently took up his post at the Pentagon. Before him Richard Perle had spent several years in this field—the very man who was known even in Washington as a "superhawk" and who respected the truth so much that he made use of it very rarely. So the laurels of Lehman's predecessor have obviously prevented him from sleeping peacefully. He has persistently sought an opportunity to show that he is continuing the cause embodied by the previous incumbent of his present office. And such an opportunity has been found. The U.S. assistant defense secretary was invited to address hearings in the Europe and Middle East Subcommittee of the House Foreign Affairs Committee of the U.S. Congress. Through an irony of fate his very speech had to do directly with continuity, albeit not with regard to Perle but concerning continuity and change in Soviet policy in the defense sphere.

This, at least, was the title of his speech. Its whole thrust amounted to portraying in a distorted, slanderous light Soviet military policy and the USSR's affairs and intentions in the military sphere. These are Lehman's actual words: "The Soviet Union speaks of changes in its approach to its military strength and doctrine. Despite this, we consider continuity the basic feature of Soviet policy in the sphere of ensuring security. From our viewpoint, 'restructuring' and 'glasnost' have so far had little effect on the Soviet defense sector."

The world is changing, being renewed, and developing, but Lehman does not wish to see this. With the clever mien of a Sovietologist he tries to demonstrate that in the Soviet Union's practical policy no changes are occurring in the security sphere or in the building of its armed forces and that the gamble on ensuring military dominance over Western countries supposedly remains the nucleus of this policy.

Arguments? There are no arguments, for the assistant leader of the Pentagon could not be bothered to seek any. On the other hand, he groundlessly went on about the "purely offensive" nature of the USSR Armed Forces and of their organizational structure and armament and about other "evidence" thought up by Perle, which was meant to back up the speaker's idea. "Whatever the motives in the USSR's present rhetoric," he maintained, "no signs of a lessening of its military threat to the West are to be observed." In his opinion, the Soviet Union is continuing to implement its policy aimed "at consolidating regimes favorable to the USSR" also in regional conflicts.

Flying into a rage, the "politician" Lehman goes on to proclaim: "One thing is clear—even under its present leadership the Soviet Union is continuing to throw down

a huge challenge to the interests of the United States and the West as a whole—which dictates to the latter the need to introduce verification and to remain vigilant."

What can be said about this? A skilled politician must be able not just to read but to understand what he reads. But in order to understand, he must know something and not repeat the pearls of his predecessor. That is over and has receded into the past. It is only to be regretted that the Pentagon's assistant leader was not able or did not want to see the favorable trends which are becoming increasingly clear in international relations. He was not able or did not want to notice the easing of confrontation, the strengthening of East-West contacts, the creation of more favorable preconditions for curbing the arms race, reducing military spending, and settling regional conflicts, or the definite development of businesslike ties between Soviet and U.S. military leaders.

Although it would not have been at all difficult to do so. He had only to look into the Pentagon office of Admiral W. Crowe, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, who during those days was meeting with Marshal of the Soviet Union S. Akhromeyev, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff and USSR first deputy defense minister. And it probably still would have been better if Lehman had been at the news conference of S. Akhromeyev and W. Crowe on the eve of his speech to the House subcommittee or at least had familiarized himself with the report on it. There, in particular, the chief of the Soviet General Staff said clearly and unambiguously that we are restructuring and reordering ourselves in such a way that our doctrine and strategy shall be of a strictly defensive nature and that we are embarking on an organizational restructuring of the Armed Forces so as to impart such a nature to them. And that the full realization of the principle of reasonable sufficiency for defense is possible only on a mutual basis—that is, it depends on the other side's actions too. It is these actions that determine the nature of the measures which the Soviet Union is taking to ensure its security.

It is hard to believe that, holding such a responsible post, Lehman does not know about all this. In any case, he must know. But he had his purpose. Telling a heap of fairytales about Soviet military policy, about the Soviet Armed Forces and the threat that they allegedly pose to the United States and the West, Lehman really entreated the congressmen not to permit a reduction in the military potential of the United States and its allies, not to abandon the nuclear modernization programs, to continue implementing the NATO initiatives for improving conventional arms, and to reject the Soviet proposals for a "nuclear-free West Europe." No, he says, he is not against an improvement in East-West relations. But this must be implemented on the basis of reliance on the West's strength."

This is the credo of Mr Lehman and those circles whose views and interests he expressed so clearly. But do they correspond to the commands of the time and the true

interests of the world's peoples, including the American people? The answer is obvious: They not only do not correspond to them, they run directly counter to them.

China

PRC's Wu Xuquan Departs for Home After Visit
LD2507144388 Moscow TASS in English 1436 GMT
25 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 25 TASS—"The restructuring process in the USSR and the process of reforms in China have a common goal: to refine socialism and to raise the living standard of the people of the two countries", Wu Xuquan, member of the Standing Committee of the Central Commission of Counsellors of the Communist Party of China, chairman of the board of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Society, told a TASS correspondent today before departure for home.

That the reforms which are being effected in the two countries have similar goals Wu Xuquan saw during his 18-day tour of the Soviet Union. A delegation headed by him stayed in the USSR at the invitation of the Presidium of the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries and visited Moscow, Leningrad, Riga, and Yalta where they familiarised themselves with industrial enterprises and agriculture.

The Soviet people's work to accomplish the task of restructuring was spoken of during the meeting between Wu Xuquan and Andrey Gromyko, president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

"The processes of reforms in our two countries presuppose not only intensification of the economy but also the development of the cultural sphere," Wu Xuquan maintains. "This is why a further broadening of cultural ties between the public of the Soviet Union and China is so topical now".

Wu Xuquan also spoke for advisability of holding festivals of the peoples of the USSR and the festival of the USSR in India. The two festivals came to a close this summer. "I support this idea, because in this way the Soviet and Chinese peoples will be able to get to know each other better", he said.

Visiting NPC Delegation Tours Georgia
LD2507222488 Moscow TASS in English 1707 GMT
25 Jul 88

[Text] Tbilisi July 25 TASS—The broadening of inter-parliamentary exchanges between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China (PRC) is an important instrument for further development of bilateral contacts and the establishment of goodneighbourly cooperation, said Pavel Gilashvili, president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic.

When receiving today a visiting delegation of the Legislation Commission of the National People's Congress [NPC] of the PRC, led by Song Rufen, deputy chairman of the commission, he emphasized that the Soviet people cherished the traditions of Soviet-Chinese friendship. The people of Georgia make their contribution to the development of friendly relations and the strengthening of business contacts with the PRC, he pointed out.

The guests were told about the activities of the Supreme Soviet of Georgia, the top state power body of the republic, and its standing commissions, a rise in the role of local councils, the course of the restructuring process, and economic and social development of Georgia.

The Chinese delegation members called for the strengthening of Sino-Soviet relations and for broader exchanges of experience in parliamentary work.

The delegation of Chinese parliamentarians left by air for Sukhumi today in a continuation of familiarisation with the republic's life.

PRC, Soviet Cooperatives Officials Meet
*OW2507033688 Moscow International Service
in Mandarin 0600 GMT 16 Jul 88*

[Excerpts] It has been reported that a delegation from the All-China Federation of Supply and Marketing Cooperatives, headed by Pan Yao, chairman of the board of directors, is visiting Moscow. This visit by workers of Chinese cooperatives reciprocates a recent trip to China by Fedirko, chairman of the board of the Central Union of Consumers' Cooperatives of the Soviet Union. During that visit, both sides decided to restore relations between workers of cooperatives of the two countries. They also signed an agreement on economic and trade activities in the Soviet-Chinese border region, as well as agreements on exchanging experts and establishing direct trade and production links between workers of cooperatives of Moscow Oblast and Guangdong Province.

Leaders of the Central Union of Consumers' Cooperatives of the Soviet Union and the All-China Federation of Supply and Marketing Cooperatives met at the 29th session of the International Union of Cooperatives recently held in Stockholm. Now they are meeting again in Moscow and discussing ways to further strengthen cooperation between Soviet and Chinese cooperatives.

Comrades Fedirko and Pan Yao held talks at the Central Union of Consumers' Cooperatives of the Soviet Union.

Fedirko welcomed his Chinese counterpart and said: We are pleased to have your delegation visit our country at a very meaningful time. The recent 19th All-Union Conference of CPSU Delegates discussed the most important issues concerning deepening social reform in the Soviet

Union. For instance, it noted that expanding the scale of the cooperative movement is a major step toward thoroughly carrying out economic reform in our country. [passage omitted]

Recently we received a delegation from Guangdong Province, and mutually beneficial economic agreements were signed. Now we are anticipating the commodity sales exhibition featuring workers of Guangdong cooperatives to be held in Moscow this November.

Comrade Pan Yao, chairman of the board of directors of the All-China Federation of Supply and Marketing Cooperatives, also welcomed the establishment and development of contacts between workers of cooperatives of the two countries. [passage omitted]

Comrade Pan Yao said: First, I wish to thank Comrade Fedirko for inviting us to visit the Soviet Union immediately after the Stockholm meeting of the International Union of Cooperatives. In April of this year, a Soviet delegation headed by Comrade Fedirko paid a very successful visit to China. Cooperatives of the two countries had lost contact for more than 20 years, but your visit restored the ties between us. This is good indeed. During their visits to China, the Soviet comrades showed great interest in China's reform. We exchanged views on how to further develop cooperation. During its current visit to the Soviet Union, our delegation is eager to learn about the process of reform in your country. We will learn from each other's experiences and look for new possibilities for cooperation. [passage omitted]

The talks between Comrades Fedirko and Pan Yao proceeded in a friendly and constructive atmosphere. After visits to other parts of the Soviet Union, the Chinese delegation plans to hold another meeting. They will visit the Ukraine and Leningrad to familiarize themselves with the work of workers of the cooperatives there.

Cooperatives Delegation Departs
*OW2507143888 Moscow International Service
in Mandarin 0100 GMT 23 Jul 88*

[Text] A delegation of the All-China Federation of Supply and Marketing Cooperatives has ended its visit to the Soviet Union. At a meeting with the Soviet side at the Central Union of Consumers' Cooperatives, both sides emphatically noted that the exchange of experience in the large-scale reform of cooperatives is very important to both the Soviet Union and China.

Both sides expressed satisfaction over the establishment of trade relations between the All-China Federation of Supply and Marketing Cooperatives and the Soviet Central Union of Consumers' Cooperatives, as well as direct business contacts between their Moscow and Guangdong branches. Both sides also agreed to actively promote border trade.

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The Soviet side reiterated its proposal for exchanging scientists and experts in the field of cooperative education and for having Chinese university students study at the Moscow Cooperative College.

Commentary Views Potential PRC Cooperation

OW2307014888 Moscow International Service
in Mandarin 1400 GMT 21 Jul 88

[Mulatov commentary]

[Text] On 19 July in the Kremlin, Andrey Gromyko, chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, met with Comrade Wu Xiuquan, a notable Chinese revolutionary and a veteran of the CPC who is active in both Chinese party and social affairs. Gromyko said: The potential for our cooperation is far from exhausted. While talking to this distinguished guest from China, Comrade Gromyko stated: The Soviet people are pleased with the development of our cooperation in recent years in the fields of trade, economy, science, and technology. They are also pleased with the expanded exchanges in the fields of culture, education, and sports. Parliamentary relations and direct contacts between cities, regions, and individual enterprises and organizations have been established and have developed smoothly.

Meanwhile, we believe, just as Comrade Gromyko said, that the potential for our cooperation is far from exhausted. He reiterated that the Soviet side is ready to conduct a full and direct dialogue with China at any level, at any time, and on any issue.

Dear listeners, what I would like to draw your attention to is that the Soviet side is ready to conduct a full dialogue on any issue with China. I believe you know as well as I do, that in being neighboring socialist countries, both of us face many similar problems—problems of how to get more advantages out of socialism. In international affairs, we also have many similar tasks. Therefore, undoubtedly, a dialogue between the two big socialist countries will certainly be conducive to peace and the cause of socialism. It will bring great benefits not only to the USSR and the PRC, but also to the whole world. I, for one, believe that both countries must engage in such a dialogue. During their talks in the Kremlin, Comrades Gromyko and Wu Xiuquan emphasized that, as far as Soviet-Chinese relations are concerned, China's views on a broad range of issues tally with those of the Soviets'. I believe a bright future lies ahead of us for cultivating the potential of our relations.

Northeast Asia

Japan's Nakasone Tours Lithuania, Departs Home

LD2507210088 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1800 GMT 25 Jul 88

[Excerpts] Nakasone, former Japanese prime minister and member of the Diet, has spent 3 days in Lithuania. [passage omitted] Nakasone told a TASS correspondent

that his brief but full stay in this Soviet republic made a great impression on him. [passage omitted] The meeting with Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, was useful. We exchanged views on various aspects of Japanese-Soviet relations. Unfortunately, bilateral ties are not yet at the proper level. I believe it is necessary to make more intensive contacts between the Japanese and Soviet peoples. This will allow us to develop relations in politics, the economy, and in cultural affairs.

On the same day, Nakasone left for home.

Commentary Views Visit

OW2607061188 Moscow in Japanese to Japan
1200 GMT 25 Jul 88

[Dmitriyev commentary]

[Text] Imagine if reports on a Nakasone-Gorbachev meeting appeared in the press a year ago, when Nakasone was still the Japanese prime minister? What sort of uproar would this have caused the world over? Although Nakasone has handed over the government to another man, the recent meeting is not only symbolic, but also very significant for promoting dialogue between the USSR and Japan.

The fact that Nakasone is still a very influential personality in Japanese political circles is not only because he served as prime minister for a long time and has left his mark on Japanese foreign policy, but also because he is still a member of the Diet, a powerful faction leader of the ruling Liberal Democrat Party, and director of the Institute for Peace Research, which was founded under his auspices. Thus, we can hope that the desire Nakasone expressed during his talks with General Secretary Gorbachev to promote good-neighborly relations with the USSR will be translated into actual policy.

On the part of the USSR, as Gorbachev stated, the Soviet Union in principle is interested in establishing good relations with Japan in all areas, from cooperative political action to exchanges involving people. On the other hand, Gorbachev indicated that over the past 3 years, when perestroika has been implemented, the USSR has greatly improved its relations with many countries while its relations with Japan have remained the same or, at times, even regressed.

It is unrealistic to expect that the Japanese approach to various problems will be the same as the USSR's. This point was also made clear during the Gorbachev-Nakasone talks. For instance, there is the boundary question between the two countries. Gorbachev stated that we believe that dialogue on Soviet-Japanese relations must start not from the time diplomatic ties were established, but from a settlement of accounts remaining from World War II. However, the fact that there are differences of opinion on various problems should not stop us from

effectively promoting bilateral relations in issues where progress is possible. This is even more true because, at the present, favorable conditions for doing so do exist.

Last November, ex-Prime Minister Nakasone said in an interview with the U.S. "CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR" that the success of U.S.-USSR negotiations would also influence Moscow's relations with the countries of the Western camp, including Japan. At this time, when the U.S.-USSR talks both in Washington and Moscow have ended successfully, and the removal of INF missiles is in progress, particularly in the Soviet Far East region near Japan, the opportune time that Nakasone referred to is undoubtedly at hand.

Soviet-Japanese relations must be compatible with conditions existing in both countries. That is, they must be consistent with the fact that the two countries are neighbors, and that both have considerable influence in the world. Nakasone said he looks forward to the vigorous development of Soviet-Japanese economic relations in the Far East, in cultural exchanges, and in tourist and athletic exchanges. Gorbachev explained his plans to develop the Far East region at a faster pace than other regions in the country. He also said there is a plan to make Vladivostok an open city in the immediate future. A Japanese industrial fair has already been held in Vladivostok, and a Japanese delegation, led by Hokkaido Governor Yokomichi, has visited the city.

In the future, every time a meeting between the foreign ministers of both countries is held, Soviet-Japanese relations will be further stimulated. The next such meeting will be held in New York at the UN General Assembly in September. Furthermore, during the talks Nakasone and Gorbachev held, Foreign Minister Shevardnadze's scheduled visit to Japan late this year was reaffirmed. In the future, the possibility that the heads of both countries will exchange visits cannot be ruled out.

Nakasone's visit to the USSR helped to deepen mutual understanding. Nakasone made speeches and gave an interview on Soviet television, which was broadcast nationwide. Gorbachev indicated that the visit was the fulfillment of a long-standing desire by both sides. Also, the meeting itself showed that improving Soviet-Japanese relations is an important issue for both countries.

Daily Views DPRK's North-South Talks Plan
PM2507114388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
23 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under rubric "Facts, Events, Opinions":
"DPRK Initiative"]

[Text] Pyongyang, 22 Jul—The Standing Committee of the DPRK Supreme People's Assembly has sent a proposal to the South Korean National Assembly to hold interparliamentary talks between the North and South in the interests of improving the situation on the Korean peninsula.

According to KCNA today, the letter sent across the Demarcation Line at Panmunjom addressed to the South Korean legislators emphasizes that holding such talks will pave the way for multilateral contacts and dialogue between representatives of political parties and groups and different strata of the populations in the North and South.

We must put an end to confrontation and tension at all costs, avert a war, and move in the direction of peace and reunification, the letter says. It proposes discussion of the draft joint declaration on nonaggression at these interparliamentary talks, as well as issues raised by South Korea if they "will serve to ease tension and ensure peace."

In particular, the draft joint declaration indicates that under no circumstances must the sides use arms against each other, and that differences and disputes must only be solved peacefully, at the negotiating table. It proposes to turn the Demilitarized Zone into a buffer zone where "forces from neutral countries will be kept" as a control to guarantee the prevention of conflicts. The document notes the need for a phased, large-scale reduction in armed forces in the North and in South Korea and the adoption of appropriate measures for the withdrawal of foreign troops and their nuclear weapons from the territory of the peninsula.

It also proposes holding the first round of talks in Pyongyang this August.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

'Informal' Bogor Meeting Begins Cambodian Talks
BK2607033588 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia
1330 GMT 25 July 88

[Station correspondent (Vladimir Belosasko) report from Jakarta]

[Text] On 25 July, the representative of the PRK and those of the three Cambodian antagonistic parties, which are grouped in the so-called CGDK [Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea], started their talks at the informal meeting in Bogor, a small town located near Jakarta.

Our correspondent, Comrade (Vladimir Belosasko), reported from the Indonesian capital that it was noted that Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, who has stepped down from the presidency of the CGDK, is also now visiting Indonesia at this time. It was reported that he would not participate in the Bogor talks. Comrade Hun Sen, chairman of the PRK Council of Ministers, said discussions with Samdech Norodom Sihanouk should not be ruled out. The political settlement of the Cambodian problem must be accelerated by every possible means.

The informal meeting in Bogor, as well as the withdrawal of a large portion of Vietnam's Army volunteers from Cambodia, and the establishment of a peace zone along the Cambodian-Thai border, have provided a contingency for putting an end to hostilities in Southeast Asia. However, it is important not to let this promising opportunity slip away.

We appreciate Indonesia's constructive efforts in initiating the meeting. This task is not an easy one, and Indonesia has not limited the duration of the participants' talks. It is thought that the meeting would take place in two stages: Vietnam, Laos, Indonesia, and other ASEAN states will attend the meeting in its second stage following the preliminary discussion among the four Cambodian parties.

Medvedev Receives Lao Ambassador 25 Jul
LD2607090388 Moscow Television Service in Russian
2205 GMT 25 Jul 88

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] On 25 July, Comrade Medvedev received Khamphong Phanvongsa, candidate member of the Central Committee of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party [LPRP] and ambassador of the Lao People's Democratic Republic to the USSR. During their conversation, satisfaction was expressed over the constant development and the deepening of friendly ties between the CPSU and the LPRP, as well as over all-round Soviet-Lao relations. Comrade Medvedev wished the ambassador, who recently assumed his duties in Moscow, success in his work.

Near East & South Asia

Resistance Claims Najibullah To Resign
OW2407084888 Beijing XINHUA in English 0813
GMT 24 Jul 88

[Text] Islamabad, July 24 (XINHUA)—Soviet-backed Kabul head Najibullah intends to resign his post as president of Afghanistan due to the prevailing chaotic situation in the country, Afghan resistance news agency, the AFGHAN NEWS AGENCY (ANA) said here today.

He decided to resign on July 20 but later he postponed his decision to early August. Soviet advisers were reported to have asked him to reconsider his decision.

Najibullah reluctantly agreed to wait for another 15 days and in case the situation does not improve by then he will resign, ANA said.

Gulabzoy, interior minister of Afghanistan, who was opposed to put civil-armed forces of Afghanistan under the Afghan regular army has been arrested and dispatched by Najibullah to the Soviet Union, the same sources said.

Gulabzoy's father came and requested Najibullah to get his son back to Afghanistan, but Najibullah consoled him by saying that very soon they will all be in the Soviet Union, the sources added.

Brig. Gul Rahim, who was in charge of the security forces of the presidential palace has deserted after big explosions in the palace recently along with 370 security guards personnel and is now fighting jihad (holy war) against the Kabul regime, ANA said.

Pakistan's Statements on Withdrawal 'Provocative'
LD2507185588 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1430 GMT 25 Jul 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; video report from Kabul by correspondent A. Shkirando—identified by screen caption]

[Text] As we have already reported, Pakistani President Ziaul Haq said that the Soviet Union has allegedly stopped the withdrawal of troops from Afghanistan and has transferred an additional 10,000 troops into the country. Here is a report by our Kabul correspondent:

[Shkirando] The statement has been regarded in Afghanistan as irresponsible and openly provocative. It is absolutely contrary to the facts.

Here is what Muhammad Faruq Karmand, deputy foreign minister of the Republic of Afghanistan, said.

[Begin Karmand recording in vernacular with superimposed Russian translation] I think that President Ziaul Haq made that unsubstantiated statement proceeding from the following considerations: First, to distract the attention of the world public from Pakistan's continuous violations of the Geneva accords. Thus, the Afghan Foreign Ministry has already sent 57 notes to the group of UN observers monitoring the implementation of the Geneva accords; at least 360 specific Pakistani violations of the Geneva accords are described in those notes. Second, this is an attempt to justify the criminal acts of the irreconcilable oppositionists against the Afghan people precisely now, when the Muslims are celebrating the holiday of sacrifice. Everybody knows that the missiles fired at Afghan towns during the holiday had been delivered to the extremists by the Pakistani authorities. Third, President Ziaul Haq is trying all kinds of tricks to distract the public attention within his country from internal political problems. [end recording]

[Shkirando] In addition to what has been said, I would like to note that had there been any violations by the Soviet side they would not have passed unnoticed by the group of UN observers monitoring the implementation of the Geneva Accords. [video of uniformed people with UN badges at an airport] During the recent withdrawal of a Soviet unit from the province of Badakhshan, (Ratna Bakhadur), one of the leaders of the UN group, said:

[Begin (Bakhadur) recording in English with superimposed Russian translation] We have worked so far at the observations post in (? Kharaton) and before that in Kabul. I must say that the withdrawal of the Soviet troops is proceeding well and in accordance with the schedule and we have not come up against any problems. [end recording]

'Another' Soviet Unit Departs Afghanistan
LD2107211988 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1430 GMT 21 Jul 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpt] In accordance with the Geneva agreements, yet another Soviet military unit is returning home from Afghanistan. Our correspondent Aleksandr Shkirando reports from the town of Konduz:

[Shkirando] Thus, there are now no Soviet troops in 19 provinces of Afghanistan. The personnel of this military unit, which was seen off a few days ago most warmly and cordially by the population of the northeastern province of Badakhshan, has arrived in the town of Konduz. It is from here that the direct road home begins. [passage omitted]

Further Withdrawals Reported
PM2507102188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
25 Jul 88 Morning Edition pp 1, 3

["Afghan reportage" by special correspondent Yevg. Bay: "Road to Konduz"]

[Text] Konduz-Kabul—"It is hot here in Konduz although it is the north of the country," goes a song popular among our soldiers. It is 50 degrees in the shade, and more in the sun. In addition there is the thick dust which while the convoy is on the move hangs so thickly in the air that you can even brush it aside with your hands.

Our boys' move from Fayzabad to Konduz was through the high mountains. Here the mountain torrents poured down the narrow path between the mountain slopes where there would not be room for two trucks to pass. On some sectors the water level had reached 1.5 meters next to the road. To lay an earth embankment on other sectors it was necessary to blow up and break down the slopes and remove the mines concealed so cunningly that even an experienced sapper would not notice them. On the 250 km road about 1,500 mines of U.S., Italian, and Chinese manufacture were defused. The majority had been laid beforehand but the mujahidin had added the detonating fuses the day before the troops passed by.

I asked the unit commander: It is only a stone's throw, just a few dozen kilometers, to the border with the Soviet Union. Could our soldiers not have been sent by air to avoid clashes with the extremists?

It is theoretically possible, he explained to me. But we also walked the entire route parallel to the border because it has to be prepared for the Afghans. And we did not clear the road of mines only for ourselves. Convoys with food and medical supplies for civilian inhabitants are now proceeding in both directions along it. The local peasants and merchants are hurrying to ship the harvest and commodities. One of them even offered us his own truck to bring in gravel. He explained that the Russians had made the road on which it is possible to drive safely. But before he could not show himself outside the house because the gangs' ringleaders took an enormous tax on him for every journey.

The day before the withdrawal from Fayzabad the regiment command had talks with the gangs' ringleaders through the local chairman of the commission for national conciliation. They agreed that they would not fire on our convoys during the Soviet troops' withdrawal. But the agreement has constantly been violated and soldiers have frequently been shot in the back and the rebels have attacked posts at night, delivered strikes, and immediately taken flight.

But finally our fighters are flying home. And at the aircraft gangway they are being seen off, in addition to their own commanders, by three foreigners in the blue berets and well tailored uniforms of their states—Lieutenant Colonel Ratna Bakhadur [name as transliterated] from Nepal, Irish Major Harry Kirk, and Ghanaian Armed Forces Captain William Ayamdo [surname as transliterated]. The UN observers called on to keep track of the observance of the schedule for the Soviet troops' withdrawal are benevolently inclined. In Kabul they conduct themselves in a very official manner but here, on the spot, they are more eager for contact with representatives of the press. "We have sufficient evidence that there have been no changes in the schedule for the troops' withdrawal and everything is going according to plan," Ratna Bakhadur tells me. "No one will start to panic if not a single unit leaves Afghanistan for 1-2 weeks. The main thing is that 50 percent of Soviet troops should have been withdrawn by 15 August."

After the military transport aircraft carrying the last company of the X regiment has disappeared in the black Afghan sky, the UN observers will also leave Konduz. Like all passengers in Soviet military aircraft, on board they will be issued with parachutes—in case the aircraft is shot down by a U.S. Stinger missile or British Blowpipe missile, both of which have been presented in sufficient quantities by the Western countries to the "intransigent opposition" in Afghanistan.

...For the time being other Soviet units remain in Konduz (according to the schedule they will be the last to be withdrawn) but the local inhabitants are already asking a difficult question: What will happen when the Russian soldiers leave, what will happen to the civilian population?

Compared with the country's southern and southeastern provinces bordering on Pakistan and Iran, the north of the republic has always been considered relatively calm. But this calm is only relative. While the district and provincial centers are under the control of the government, the very large gangs of Ahmad Shah Mas'ud and Abdulla Basir [name as published], who have shared out the "spheres of influence," operate over the vast rural area, in the mountains and valley. You only have to turn from the main road along which the Soviet unit was proceeding for "terra incognita" for the local authorities to begin.

The ringleaders of the two gangs zealously guard their possessions against the newcomers from the East, above all against the detachments of the hated Islamic fanatic—the fundamentalist G. Hikmatyar, who calls for the "jihad" holy war to be continued against the Soviet troops as they withdraw. Clashes between the local gangs and the newcomers frequently grow into real fights.

In Konduz itself, in contrast to the republic's southern cities, there is virtually no rocket fire. There are fewer fears here that a sniper hidden behind an adobe wall will get you in his sights. And it is only the large number of Afghan Army servicemen, the dusty armored transporters and tanks on the city streets which by their presence remind you that a war is under way here.

"Hostilities are unfortunately continuing," the 57-year-old lawyer Abdul Khakim Salakh [name as published], the governor of the province, says. "But now we have a real opportunity of reaching an agreement with the armed opposition. Not, it is true, with the entire opposition, but with a certain section which is assessing soberly the situation in the country. In addition the actual differences within the mujahidin camp enable us to enlist some of the former 'intransigents' to our side."

The basis for a possible compromise appeared only after the country's leadership had steered a course toward national conciliation, toward the attainment of the unity of all strata of the Afghan nation advocating peace. A constitution has been proclaimed in the republic enshrining the new political course, a coalition government has been formed, and a parliament has been elected.

"There has begun to be more freedom, freedom to express views, and more democracy, Abdul Khakim Salakh says. "Many of the opposition's trump cards have been struck from their hands. Judge for yourself: The very fact that a nonparty person has been elected to the post of governor of Konduz is evidence that the coalition form of rule in the center and locally has justified itself."

I asked whether he was glad that he had been elected to the post in a period of such restlessness for the republic.

The governor nods understandingly:

"Of course there are a great many difficulties. In addition to questions of defense capability we have to engage in the construction of schools and hospitals and questions of providing the population with food. There are problems here caused not only by the war but also by the lack of coordination of the actions of the various ministries and departments, by bureaucracy. But what I want to say to you is that we are pinning hopes on our own efforts and we are sure the authorities will hold out."

"Right now," the governor concludes, "We are engaging in problems of trade with your country in the border regions. Previously goods would travel via Kabul. That was expensive and inconvenient. Last year we began to trade directly more frequently. So, as you can see, despite the hostilities we are thinking of peace and believe in a peaceful future."

Gromov on Withdrawal

AU2507192888 Sofia ZEMEDEL'SKO ZNAME
in Bulgarian 22 Jul 88 p 6

[Report on interview with Lieutenant General Boris Gromov, commander of the "limited Soviet contingent in Afghanistan," by Andrey Pravov, special NOVOSTI correspondent, specially dispatched for ZEMEDEL'SKO ZNAME by NOVOSTI: "With Lofty Morale"; date and place not given—first four paragraphs ZEMEDEL'SKO introduction]

[Text] Two months have elapsed since the beginning of the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Afghanistan. What about the results? According to Lieutenant General Boris Gromov, commander of the limited contingent of Soviet troops in Afghanistan, three results have been achieved. The first is the fact that the plan and timetable for the withdrawal during the first 2 months was fully observed.

Boris Gromov stated: We have withdrawn all our units and groups of units which were disbanded in the eastern, southeastern, and southern provinces, namely, in the areas which are situated in the immediate vicinity of the border with Pakistan. There is not one single Soviet soldier in those provinces today.

The second result is that all troops that were withdrawn from Afghanistan reached Soviet territory without having suffered any losses. Last, but not least, the third result was the confirmed inconsistency of the statements made by the Afghan opposition forces that, following the withdrawal of the Soviet troops, the people's government would be overthrown in those provinces which the Soviet soldiers abandon.

You understand, General [title as published] Gromov continued, that the further withdrawal of our troops will become more complicated. The opposition is becoming more aggressive and the closer we come to the final withdrawal of our troops from Afghanistan, the more difficult things will be for us.

[Pravov] You stated that not one Soviet soldier has remained in the provinces which are situated in the immediate vicinity of the Pakistani border. As a result of this, we must assume that the role of the units from the limited Soviet contingent in those areas has been taken over by the Afghan Army. What are the results of this situation in the first weeks following the event?

[Gromov] I will cite as an example the situation in the town of Kalat which, according to Western news agencies, is allegedly under the control of the so-called "irreconcilables". This town is of great importance from a tactical point of view. It was in Kalat precisely that the Afghan Armed Forces demonstrated their ability to cope alone in chasing away the gangs. They defeated them without any assistance of ours whatsoever.

[Pravov] Comrade General, after the complete withdrawal of the limited contingent from Afghanistan, a number of Soviet specialists, diplomats, and journalists will still remain in that country. Is their security guaranteed?

[Gromov] Yes, this is so indeed. The Afghan side provided most serious guarantees for their security.

[Pravov] During my interviews with Soviet soldiers in Termez who belonged to the unit under Colonel Starov's leadership which was the first to be withdrawn from Afghanistan, I felt their lofty morale and their aspiration, to actively join in the restructuring as soon as they return to their homeland. How can you describe the moral qualities of the so-called "Afghans," namely, of the Soviet soldiers stationed in Afghanistan. As a matter of fact, can you tell us how much time you spent with them?

[Gromov] I served nearly 5 years in Afghanistan. I was first in Kabul, later in Shindand, and then again in Kabul. I began my service as a colonel. I am well acquainted with the soldiers. The lessons they learned in Afghanistan were not a waste of time. The extreme circumstances of the situation under which they served will teach them many things. They began to understand the importance of friendship, of comradely, mutual assistance, they are developing their sense of responsibility. Today these boys can contribute greatly to our society. It is no coincidence that a few hundred people who served in Afghanistan now fill important positions in the party and state organs. A number of our former soldiers and officers have been appointed directors of sovkhoses and plants.

[Pravov] Recently, several interpretations appeared in the press regarding the correctness of the decision to dispatch Soviet troops to Afghanistan. Can you tell us if, in your opinion, this was a correct or incorrect decision?

[Gromov] In my opinion, the dispatching of troops to Afghanistan was no mistake. The fact that there were shortcomings in the implementation of our tasks in Afghanistan is another question, but these were not so significant. In my recent statement to the 19th CPSU

All-Union Conference I described some people's efforts to cast doubt on the heroic deeds of the internationalist soldiers, calling them irresponsible. No individual whatsoever, absolutely no one in our country has the right to destroy the young people's faith in the sacred value of military duty, which is never accomplished in vain. We did fulfill our tasks in Afghanistan.

[Pravov] You were a delegate at the 19th CPSU All-Union Conference. What will you tell your soldiers upon your return to Afghanistan?

[Gromov] I will tell them that all Soviet people support restructuring. We too are in favor of restructuring. Hence, the withdrawal of our troops from Afghanistan is the result of the restructuring process and of new political thinking.

Further Reportage on Situation in Afghanistan

Letter Sent to UN Head

LD2507200388 Moscow TASS in English 1949 GMT
25 Jul 88

[Text] New York, July 25 TASS—Afghanistan's Minister of Foreign Affairs Abdul Wakil sent a letter to United Nations Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar. The letter points to a new wave of brutal and adventuristic actions of the extremists connected with anti-Government Afghan groups based in Peshawar. These actions have already led to horrible tragedies resulting from a series of shellings with rockets of densely-populated districts of Kabul and other cities.

The people of Afghanistan hoped and continue to hope that with conscientious implementation of the Geneva accords the causes of bloodshed in the country will be eliminated. Not a single of these accords lends itself to any other interpretation than the one made during their signing, the document says.

And while the Republic of Afghanistan has taken every possible measure for the implementation of the agreements and the Soviet troops withdrawal proceeds according to schedule, it cannot ignore the brazen violations made by the other side, the letter says. It should be noted that rocketing of residential areas deep inside the Afghan territory are the most patent examples of these violations, and that the transfer of these missiles to Afghanistan is one of the most impudent violations of the accords, Abdul Wakil notes.

The letter contains the request to the United Nations secretary-general to render good services in order to put an end to the violations of the provisions of the Geneva accords so that such crimes against the Afghan people should not be repeated in future.

Pakistani 'Interference' Protested

LD2507202588 Moscow TASS in English 1850 GMT
25 Jul 88

[Text] Kabul, July 25 TASS—The stream of protest notes which are handed over by the Afghan Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the U.N. observers in view of numerous facts of violation of the Geneva accords by the Pakistani side may puzzle one.

The 56th and 57th notes were handed over to the U.N. observers on Sunday. However, all these documents are based on concrete data which the Afghan Foreign Ministry receives from reliable sources.

The infiltration of anti-government groups into Afghan territory and the smuggling of huge batches of weapons into Afghanistan are one of the main directions of Pakistan's on-going interference in the internal affairs of the neighbouring country. In particular, several tens of insurgents with arms and a large amount of ammunition have penetrated Afghanistan from Pakistan to reinforce a group operating near the town of Aibak, Samangan Province.

According to existing data, yet another group of 'intransigents' is expected to arrive at the same area and will be subordinated to one of the armed formations of the Islamic Society of Afghanistan (ISA). Yet another caravan has brought arms to ISA formations operating in Nangarhar Province.

A large batch of heavy weapons, including one hundred 107-mm jet projectiles, six large-calibre machine-guns and about 200 anti-tank mines, was brought from Parachinar (Kurram District, Pakistan) recently for the members of the armed detachments of the Islamic Party of Afghanistan (IPA) in Vardac Province.

A caravan of seven motor vehicles, which are intended for the members of the same group in Jaji Meydan (Khowst District), has been formed. It is to set out on its way on July 25-27 after 'engineer' Katbuddin, head of the foreign relations department of the IPA, together with a group of foreign advisers joins the caravan. Six lorries with arms and ammunition have been sent to IPA detachments in Jowzjan and Samangan Provinces.

Recruitment into special terrorist groups intended for infiltration into Helmand Province is under way in Afghan refugee camps at Giri-Jangal [name as received] and Quetta (Pakistan). The personnel of those groups, according to existing data, will wear the uniform of the Armed Forces of Afghanistan.

Interference by foreign 'advisers' in the affairs of the Republic of Afghanistan through penetration into Afghan territory grows, too. At present, there are two American advisers in the area of Shahtu (Lowgar Province). Their plans are to confer with the leaders of the detachments of IPA, ISA,

Islamic Party of Afghanistan (Khalis Faction) and the Islamic Union for the Liberation of Afghanistan for the purpose of combining their actions.

In the area of Dehi-Bazar [name as received] (22 km away from Kabul), there are six foreign advisers who arrived there to organize cooperative action of IPA and ISA groups. A group of four Arab cameramen have been shooting a film about the use of anti-aircraft systems by the rebels in Panjsher gorge since July 10. In the coming days they intend to do filming in the area of Bagram airfield (Parvan Province).

Four American advisers have arrived at Karara [name as received] (Konarha Province) together with a new anti-government group. Their purpose is to organize subversive activity of rebel formations in border areas.

Two American advisers under the protection of 15 rebels from among the Islamic Party of Afghanistan (Khalis Faction) arrived along a caravan trail from Pakistan into the territory inhabited by Jadran tribe (Paktia Province). The advisers are having with them large sums of money for 'encouragement' of local detachments of the opposition with a view to uniting them in the fight against government troops.

Foreign 'Advisers' Increasing

LD2007194688 Moscow TASS in English 1217 GMT
20 Jul 88

[Text] Kabul July 20 TASS—According to the existing information, the number of foreign advisers in Afghan opposition groups operating on Afghan territory has perceptibly increased of late. Thus, it became known that 16 km south-east of Khowst the crews of long-range artillery pieces shelling the city and the airfield included an American adviser and gun-layers from the 12th infantry division of the Pakistan Armed Forces.

Egyptian military advisers penetrated the Parvan Province. Their arrival is expected to trigger off a further escalation of armed actions of the anti-government forces. Another group of Arab specialists was introduced into the units operating in the area of the Panjshir canyon. Apart from organizing combat operations and attacks on representatives of people's power, this group of foreigners is going to shoot a video-film about the use of U.S.-made anti-aircraft missiles and Chinese large-calibre machine-guns against planes and helicopters.

Twenty Iranian "instructors" are to arrive in Qandahar Province in the coming days. They will join special units with a strength under 200 each that were specially trained for staging acts of terrorism. A large consignment of powerful mines and other explosives devices was brought recently to the province by a caravan. They are intended for staging acts of subversion in the city of Qandahar, the airfield, state-owned and military facilities.

In violation of the Geneva accords, training centres of the Afghan opposition forces continue to function on Pakistani territory. It is mostly foreign specialists who act as instructors there. Thus, some 800 extremists are being trained at the Andrak camp near Peshawar under the control of Pakistani instructors. Some 400 rebels are being trained under the guidance of American advisers in Sawabi, Peshawar. In the Yaro camp in Baluchistan Province Afghan counterrevolutionaries are being taught to organize acts of terrorism in Kabul, Qandahar and Jalalabad. American, French and Saudi instructors are directly participating in their training.

Kabul Rocket Attack Casualties

LD2507123988 Moscow TASS in English 1140 GMT
25 Jul 88

[Text] Kabul July 25 TASS—Several armed opposition groups operating in the provinces of Balkh and Konduz have responded to a statement of the office of the Afghan president on armistice for the days of the 'Id al-Adha holiday. People came to the administrative centres of provinces where they met their relatives and prayed in mosques jointly with the cities' residents. The state bodies created all the necessary conditions for those visits.

At the same time, the irreconcilable are stepping up terrorist activities in these days sacred to all the Moslems. In the past two days Kabul was again shelled by rockets. Their explosions killed 18 and wounded 45 people, including 17 children and three women. The executive committee of the jirgah of people's representatives of the Afghan capital distributed material and financial aid among those affected by the recent shelling.

A total of 178 rockets and 30 mines have been fired at Kabul since May. 63 explosions were staged which claimed the lives of 154 people and injured 205 Kabul residents.

The armed opposition forces shell Kabul with rockets and mines made in the U.S., Britain, Egypt and China. Gangs led by Khodaidad (the 'Islamic Society of Afghanistan', operates in the Bagrami District), of Moulawi Besmellah (the 'Islamic Party of Afghanistan', operates in the Shurab District), of Haji Sheralama (the 'Islamic Society of Afghanistan', operates in the Paghman District) and so on are especially active. Their strength ranges from 50 to 130 men. They are armed with "ground-to-ground" rockets, recoilless guns, mortars, large-calibre machine-guns and fire arms. Their main purpose is to destabilize the situation in the province and the capital by means of shelling, acts of terrorism and attacks.

The process of the concentration of opposition forces there is going on. Another 600 rebels came recently to the Paghman and Gol Darreh districts of the Kabul Province with the intention to shell the capital.

The military committee of the 'Islamic Party of Afghanistan' purchased nine trucks in Peshawar for organizing a series of explosions in Kabul and Jalalabad. It is planned to place explosives there. Three trucks have been sent to Afghanistan already.

Leaders of the Afghan opposition forces are taking measures for boosting the subversive and terrorist activities on territory of the republic. A special representative of the 'alliance of the seven' came to Kabul from Peshawar. He brought there a large sum of money to be handed out as bonuses for each operation. Thus, 100,000 Afghans will be paid for taking prisoner a public servant or a member of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and 50,000 for blowing up a power transmission line support.

A large consignment of ammunition was sent to the rebels operating in the Ghazni area, including 700 rockets, 100 grenades for grenade launchers and 250 mines.

The intensified activity of the irreconcilable compels the Afghan Government to take reply steps. Thus, in the past 24 hours security forces dealt a blow at a detachment of a certain Lal Jan operating in the Arghandab District of Qandahar Province. As a result of the operation the ringleader of the gang was killed and a large amount of weapons was captured, including 140 ground-to-ground rockets, 30 anti-transport mines and a large-calibre machine-gun. A food stock was also captured during the operation. Two groups of extremists together with their ringleaders, Sayfuddin and Dost Mohammad, were taken prisoner in the Panjva'i and Spin Buldak districts of that province.

Kabul 'Uneasy, Tense'

PM2507115188 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 24 Jul 88 First Edition p 3

[Correspondent Lieutenant Colonel A. Oliynik dispatch: "Difficult Path to Peace"]

[Text] Kabul—President Najibullah of Afghanistan has proclaimed the days of the Muslim Feast of Immolation, which begins today, to be days of reconciliation among Afghans. However, armed opposition detachments are making a single response to this humane step—they are stepping up the terror. There is daily shelling of Jalalabad, Asadabad, Gardeyz, Kalat...

Kabul was subjected to particularly fierce shelling this week. Rebels shelled the Khayr Khanah and Dar ol Aman districts and new residential areas of the capital. In all, as KRASNAYA ZVEZDA's correspondent was told at the Afghan Interior Ministry, strikes were made on various parts of the capital six times during the week. As a result of those criminal actions, according to preliminary data, 35 people died, 57 were wounded, and dozens of houses were destroyed. Shelling is being inflicted by "surface-to-surface" missiles and also by heavy mortars which recently arrived from the United States.

These barbarous crimes are accompanied by a scurrilous opposition campaign to disseminate rumors and monstrous fabrications. Thus, the "intransigents" blame the shelling of the capital and its environs on... Soviet troops. All this is nothing but a desire to turn the Afghans' righteous anger aroused by the opposition's barbarous shelling of Afghan cities against the Soviet internationalist servicemen and against the entire Soviet Union, which is actively and consistently supporting the policy of national reconciliation in Afghanistan.

"We want peace on our homes," 'Abdul Ahmet, a venerable old man whose relatives died beneath the ruins of a house destroyed by an explosion, said with evident bitterness, "but there is no peace yet. There is sorrow, much sorrow all around. We are awakened by missile explosions almost every day. Our entire people hoped that the Geneva agreements would be followed by peace and tranquillity. It has turned out that peace is still a long way off, and we must all struggle for it..."

I asked him what he thought of the rumors which claim that Kabul is being shelled by Soviet batteries.

"I too have heard that," 'Abdul Ahmet said, "but I refuse to believe it. Our people will retain forever the good memory of the brave Soviet servicemen. I saw the whole of Kabul seeing off the first Soviet column back to the motherland with flowers in mid-May, and I have heard that those 'shuravi' who sank wells and gave the peasants water have been declared saints in the north. No, the people do not believe these rumors."

It is festival time in Kabul. But servicemen of the Afghan Army and the people's militia are at their combat posts. The situation in the capital, as throughout the country as a whole, is uneasy and tense.

Opposition Activity Noted

LD2407122088 Moscow TASS in English 1113 GMT
24 Jul 88

[Text] Kabul July 24 TASS—TASS correspondent Oleg Kuzmin reports:

Afghan troops in the eastern province of Konarha have carried out operations against intransigent rebel groups led by Fakirollah and Maulawi Shirin [names as received].

According to reports reaching here, up to 50 extremists were killed. Three extremists were taken prisoner together with their weapons. Returning the fire of anti-government groups, army and Sarandoy (people's militia) units killed up to two hundred insurgents in recent days.

Some opposition groups, upon coming to realise the prospectlessness of further fight against the government, voluntarily surrender arms. Eight men led by Commander Abdul Gafur took the side of the people's

government in Helmand Province. The former insurgents stated their readiness actively to participate in the national reconciliation process by guarding the work of peasants in their native district of Sangin.

However, a large proportion of the opposition is obviously disposed to continue to practise bloodshed. Armed extremist groups in Vardak Province requested the headquarters of the "Islamic Party of Afghanistan" (IPA) to send to them ten Stinger anti-aircraft missiles, five thousand jet projectiles, one heavy gun, several mortars with ammunition, several Milan anti-tank missile systems, and ten short-wave radio stations. These means are supposedly to be brought to Afghanistan before July 25.

In the middle of July, a 155-mm howitzer with 60 shells was brought from Pakistan to Golamhankalai [name as received] District, which borders on Pakistan. It cannot be ruled out that the gun and the team consisting, according to existing data, of three Pakistani tribal paramilitary formations, belong to one of artillery units of the Pakistani Army.

According to received data, after a supposed shelling of Afghan Army units as well as the city of Khowst, the gun and the team will be brought back to Miram Shah, Pakistan. The Shi'ite Nasr Organisation [name as received] is planning to send a 700-member armed group across Herat Province to Ghowr and Oruzgan Provinces. The group is armed with 700 units of automatic weapons. Submachine guns have been received from Iran in exchange for two Stinger missiles and two Blowpipe ones. A large batch of weapons and ammunition has been sent from Parachinar (Kurram District, Pakistan) for IPA rebels operating in Parvan Province. A 200-member detachment of the same group arrived at Paghman District (Kabul Province) in twenty lorries from Terri Mangal [name as received] (Kurram), bringing a large amount of arms and ammunition, including 400 kg of explosives.

Foreign assistance to extremist groups manifests itself not only in the transfer of weapons to them but also in the active participation of "advisers" in the training of militants and even in subversive actions in the territory of Afghanistan.

At present about 150 citizens of the United States and China live in the Pakistani town of Dir. These are military advisers who arrived there to render assistance to the Afghan opposition. They work at one of military centres of rebels and at training centres. They are guarded by Pakistani servicemen and members of the armed opposition.

There are data that Pakistani and Saudi advisers arrived among a 5,000-strong IPA group in Logar [name as received] province for the purpose of urging extremists to combat actions. They are planning, in cooperation with the formations of the 'Islamic Society of Afghanistan', to launch a large-scale offensive of the provincial centre.

In Mazar-e Sharif, an inquiry into the case of a group of arrested terrorists who planned to carry out a series of blasts in a number of city blocks, is under way. The group underwent training in Pakistan and operated on an assignment from the 'Islamic Movement of Afghanistan'.

Extremists' actions anger the broadest sections of Afghan society. Two reports on population's support for the national reconciliation policy have come in from Zabul province, in particular.

A meeting of city residents took place in Qalat, the administrative centre of the province. The participants in the meeting strongly condemned the escalation of combat actions by the opposition, and called for an end to the bloodshed at an earliest date and for the restoration of national concord.

Representatives of the local authorities assured Kabul residents of the capability of the armed forces to defend their peaceful work and to frustrate the insurgents' plans for the seizure of the city.

It is also reported that during a mass prayer on the occasion of the Id al-Adha holiday, prominent religious figures of Qalat urged the opposition to end the war against their own people.

Pashtun Support for Regime

LD2207150788 Moscow TASS in English 1434 GMT
22 Jul 88

[Text] Kabul July 22 TASS—The Afghan cities of Qandahar and Jalalabad were again rocketed by extremists. On the eve of the Moslem holiday 'Id Al-Adha which started today, mutineers tried to becloud it. Fragments of rocket projectiles claimed the lives of another seven people, including women and children. Another 10 residents were wounded. Several buildings were destroyed and a Mosque in Qandahar was damaged.

Crimes of the irreconcilable opposition do not go with impunity. The BAKHTAR agency reports that the Afghan armed forces inflicted strikes on anti-government groups in the Ghazni and Paktia Provinces. 18 mutineers were killed, and great quantities of weapons were captured.

The exacerbation of the undeclared war in Afghanistan results in the fact that the national reconciliation policy evokes favourable sentiments even among many government opponents. For instance, representatives of the Pashtun tribes of Ali Kheyli, Tsamkani [place name as received] and Gardeyz in Paktia, which permanently entertain a hostile attitude to the central authorities, held a jirgah the other day where they expressed support for Kabul's line for ending the bloodshed. Chiefs and elders of the tribes decided to set up initiative groups on liaison between state bodies and anti-government units for the purpose of starting a dialogue. Jirgah participants also

favoured a return of Afghan refugees and declared their readiness to create adequate conditions in areas of their habitation for their safe repatriation.

Pakistan continues interfering in Afghanistan's domestic affairs. The BAKHTAR agency reports that the Afghan Foreign Ministry sent a complaint of the Afghan Government to the U.N. observers' mission, pointing to a departure by the Pakistani side from the provisions of the Geneva accords. It lists new violations of the agreements and contains a request to inform the Afghan Government and the representative of the U.N. secretary general of the results of investigation of these violations.

Interior Minister Interviewed

PM2507112588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
24 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Report on interview with Afghan Minister of the Interior S.M. Gulabzoy by TASS correspondent Andrey Greshnov: "Afghanistan Is Tired of War"; date and place not given]

[Text] The gaze of all progressive mankind is fixed today on Afghanistan, a state in which a process of restoring peace and security is taking place on the basis of the agreements signed in Geneva, Afghan Minister of the Interior Sayyed Muhammad Gulabzoy, member of the PDPA Central Committee Politburo, said in interview granted to your TASS correspondent, Andrey Greshnov. The country's military and political situation remains difficult, the minister went on, and the extremist-minded section of the opposition continues to try through military confrontation, terror, and subversion to thwart the Afghan Government's efforts to achieve a peaceful political settlement of the situation in the country. In these conditions the republic's armed forces and, in particular, units and subunits of the Sarandoy (people's militia) face the tasks of repulsing criminal attacks by extremists and defending the peaceful labor of Afghan citizens. The military initiative, the minister stressed, is in our hands. Our armed forces are now capable of defending the gains of the Afghan people on their own, inflicting considerable blows on extremist formations, which are terrorizing civilians. Operational units of the Sarandoy have recently thwarted a number of attempts by "intransigents" to establish control over certain population centers in Zabul, Vardak, and Kabul Provinces. Contrary to the false claims made by the Western mass media that some "strategically important" regions are in counterrevolutionary hands, they are all under the control of the republic's armed forces. During combat operations in Zabul and Vardak Provinces and in Sarowbi, Mamad-Aga [name as transliterated], and certain other districts people's militiamen have shown courage and heroism in crushing detachments of the armed opposition. The Kabul-Jalalabad road remains under our complete control, and not under dushman control, as the Western press alleges. Long-awaited peace has already returned to many Afghan homes.

Our success in restoring peace and security on Afghan soil would be even more tangible if there were not manifest violations by Pakistan of the commitments it assumed during the Geneva talks to observe absolutely the agreements signed there. With direct U.S. support convoys of arms and munitions for extremists continue to infiltrate a number of regions of the republic, in particular Qandahar and Zabol Provinces, Khowst district, and central regions of Afghanistan. Afghan refugee camps and terrorist training bases on Pakistani territory have not been eliminated, as stipulated during the Geneva talks, but continue to energetically carry out their activity. Major formations belonging to Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, Yunis Khalis, Burhanuddin Rabbani, and other leaders of the "Alliance of Seven" are stationed in Pakistani regions bordering Afghanistan. Pakistan is thus essentially promoting the continuance of bloodshed on Afghan soil and creating obstacles to the return to Afghanistan of refugees who quit their homeland through various circumstances. Around 95 percent of all Afghan refugees express a desire to return home. But judging by the reports of witnesses who have succeeded in escaping from captivity and returning home, refugees have to overcome still more obstacles erected by the Pakistani and Iranian authorities to block their return. Millions of our compatriots are continuing to lead a miserable existence in camps, experiencing hardships and lack of food and water. The Republic of Afghanistan, S.M. Gulabzoy stressed, has repeatedly stated that it is ready to receive all Afghans who wish to return home. Around 160,000 of our compatriots have already returned to Afghanistan from Pakistan, Iran, and other countries. They have been provided with housing and work. Everyone, without exception, is entitled to return to their former places of work. We remain true to our word—the republic is ready to receive all Afghans who wish to return to engage in peaceful labor.

Dwelling on questions of the domestic political situation in the country, S.M. Gulabzoy stressed that it is characterized today by the broad democratization of public and political life. For the first time the Republic of Afghanistan has a government based on principles of coalition and expressing the will of various strata and social groups of the population. Through peaceful dialogue with all national and patriotic forces, including the opposition, it is pursuing a policy aimed at the earliest cessation of the war. In those cases where the extremist section of the opposition tries by open terror to thwart its constructive steps we are forced to bolster our political measures by military ones. The enemy must know that we are capable of standing up for ourselves. We are equipped with the latest weapons. And if need be we will use them.

The Afghan people, the Afghan interior minister concluded by saying, are tired of the many years of war. Their sole wish is to restore peace. We have complete faith that peace will come to the ancient land of Afghanistan, no matter how difficult and thorny the path toward it may be.

Sukharev Calls for Return of Afghanistan POW's
PM2207135288 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English
No. 29, 17 Jul 88 p 4

[Procurator-General Aleksandr Sukharev article: "Coming Home?"]

[Text] All the men and officers taken prisoner in Afghanistan must be returned to the motherland.

The war in Afghanistan went on for nearly nine years. It brought those who took part in it what any war brings: death, blood and grief. It also brought prisoners of war—something we were reluctant to speak about until recently.

By the time Soviet troops began withdrawing from Afghanistan, 312 people had been registered as missing. The majority are POWs: they have been starved, beaten and jeered at; sometimes they have even been chained.

How were they captured?

Usually as a result of unlucky circumstances—a surprise enemy attack, a serious wound or concussion, etc. But occasionally they were taken prisoner due to their own laxity, light-headedness or faintheartedness.

Most Soviet people behaved worthily in prison. But a few didn't stand up to the heavy test. They got scared and went back on their oath of allegiance. This is probably why some of our POW's turned up in the USA, Canada, Switzerland and West Germany, and are afraid to come home.

Now that our troops are leaving Afghanistan and the war is ending, we must do everything to ensure that every Soviet serviceman comes home. This was the aim of my recent statement made on behalf of the Soviet state. The servicemen imprisoned in Afghanistan will not be deprived of any of their rights; they will be able to exercise all their civil rights under the USSR Constitution. As for those who were broken by the suffering and deprivations of prison, who broke the law under duress (we now know the terrible conditions), but then voluntarily returned to the motherland, the Soviet state showed them generosity and mercy. The Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet ruled to amnesty these men. It isn't enough to proclaim humane principles, we must act on them. Meanwhile, like it or not, we're encumbered by the heavy load of the past. During the tragic first days of the Great Patriotic War, when the Soviet Army had to retreat, Stalin called the POWs deserters and their families suffered. Being taken prisoner was a stigma then. And even though much has changed today, there are still mean-spirited people abroad who are scaring former Soviet POWs by conjuring up the past: You won't be forgiven at home, repressions are waiting for you.

Today, as the new image of our society is taking shape, we are actively overcoming our sad legacy—the lack of rights, the suspicion and the cruelty. Other principles—mercy, respect for the law and trust in the individual—

are becoming the norm. It is hard to distort our position vis-a-vis POWs—I hope everybody can see our directness and sincerity. Especially the POWs themselves. I'm convinced they'll hear us wherever they are.

This also regards the governments, even those with which we do not have good relations. We hope they are not indifferent to the fate of the Soviet POWs, that their conscience and sense of mercy will prevail, and that they will help those whom war has torn away from their motherland. This will promote the international legal mechanism and consolidate the rule of law over force.

Pakistani Minister's U.S. Visit Viewed

LD2507171188 Moscow TASS in English 1645 GMT
25 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 25 TASS—TASS news analyst Valeri Vavilov writes:

Pakistan's Foreign Minister Yakub Khan set out on a trip to Washington. He said the main subject of his talks will be the discussion of Pakistan's specific needs in the latest kinds of arms and military equipment.

Islamabad needs urgently to replenish its military arsenals, to get the latest kinds of arms, apparently for the purpose of stepping up its interference in the affairs of neighbouring Afghanistan. It is precisely this—Islamabad's intensive interference and its all-round support for the armed Afghan opposition that is indicated by facts, even though the Pakistani leadership constantly makes pledges about its "sacred loyalty to the Geneva accords."

Thus Pakistan's President Ziaul Haq just rejected categorically accusations of Islamabad's violations of the Geneva accords and apparently in order to make his protest look more convincing he accused the Soviet Union of allegedly stopping the withdrawal of its troops from Afghanistan and sending additionally 10,000 troops for the defence of Kabul. At the same time, going by press reports, the Pakistani president discussed and endorsed the strategic plan for the seizure of Qandahar and even sanctioned an immediate participation in that operation of units of the Pakistani Army and paramilitary units of militiamen under the leadership of the Pakistani staffs.

Is this not a violation of the Geneva accords by Islamabad, is this not an attempt to mislead the world public by sowing doubts about the sincerity of the intentions of the Soviet Union that is unswervingly observing the terms of the Geneva accords, is strictly observing the schedule of the troop withdrawal.

It is only as a violation of the Geneva accords that one can assess the participation of officers of the General Staff of the Pakistani armed forces in the "work" of the staff of the armed Afghan unit Tanzim-ol-Momenin [name as received] in Parachinar, the training by Pakistani instructors of Afghan terrorists at the Terimangal

[name as received] training centre, the movement of Pakistani military to Hakriz [name as received] district of Qandahar Province and the dispatch of Pakistani advisers to Sargar, Shakarder [name as received] and other districts where they supervise actions of commandos. The whole world knows well what are the consequences of this backing given to Afghan terrorists. Rockets are rained on Afghan cities and villages, claiming lives of peaceful Afghans every day, women and children, too, destroying houses, schools and mosques.

Supporting the armed opposition, Islamabad rejects Kabul's reasonable course at national reconciliation, at the creation of the coalition government on the broadest of basis, at immediate ceasefire. Refusing to agree to the very idea of ending the fratricidal bloodshed President Ziaul Haq even resorts to laughable linguistic tricks, proclaiming that the Afghan dictionary has no such words as "ceasefire", and that the traditions of the Afghan people do not have such a notion.

Islamabad wants war to continue and the leaders of the "Peshawar seven" it favours to continue the struggle for the rule over Kabul. And the Islamabad leadership will secure weapons and funds for these purposes in the United States and in other countries.

Possibility of Iraq-Iran Settlement Viewed

PM2207105788 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 22 Jul 88 Second Edition p 5

[S. Andreyev report: "Iran-Iraq: Give Peace a Chance"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] The hope of a cessation of the dangerous, exhausting armed conflict in the region is becoming quite real. How has the world reacted to this?

The reaction of the Arab world is one of delight and cautious optimism; delight because the Arabs supported a settlement within the framework outlined by Resolution 598, and caution because assessments from the Arab public point to the instability of Iran's political line on settlement issues and to the preliminary conditions for a cease-fire which were being put forward until very recently by the Iranian leadership. It is no coincidence that in an interview with INA [Deputy Prime Minister of Iraq] T. 'Aziz has said that "until Iran takes practical tangible steps to establish a complete and lasting peace, it will be more logical to regard the war is still being under way."

Certain U.S. statements made on the development of events are also prompting caution. For instance, White House Spokesman M. Fitzwater welcomed Iran's acceptance of the UN resolution but refused to answer clearly the question of when the Americans will withdraw their warships from the Persian Gulf. Furthermore, he recalled that the U.S. presence in the Persian Gulf dates from 1949.

Lastly, Israel has voiced unequivocal disappointment in connection with the possible establishment of peace. This is no surprise, since any Israeli Government has always supported the development of events in the region which would do the utmost to weaken its Arab neighbors. In sympathy with Israel are the international arms dealers who over the years have made their fortunes from the conflict.

Events here are developing very rapidly. Every day brings news on which the return of peace to the Persian Gulf will depend.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Ethiopian President Arrives in Moscow 25 Jul
LD2507140388 Moscow TASS in English 1320 GMT 25 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 25 TASS—Mengistu Haile Mariam, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Worker's Party of Ethiopia and president of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, arrived in Moscow today on a brief working visit.

Met by Zaykov, Demichev
LD2507154788 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1335 GMT 25 Jul 88

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Mengistu Haile Mariam, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers Party of Ethiopia and president of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, arrived in Moscow today on a brief working visit. He was met at the airport by Comrades Zaykov, Demichev, and other officials. The state flags of Ethiopia and the USSR were raised.

Attends 'Colorful' Reception
EA2507201888 Addis Ababa Domestic Service in Amharic 1700 GMT 25 Jul 88

[Text] Comrade President Mengistu Haile Mariam has arrived in Moscow for an official working visit. Asefa Siyoum, the ENA [Ethiopian News Agency] palace reporter, has sent us a telephone report from Moscow:

[Asefa] Comrade President Mengistu Haile Mariam, leading a high-level delegation of Workers Party of Ethiopia and government officials, was accorded a colorful reception on arrival by special plane at 1530 today at Moscow International Airport.

During the visit, it is expected that this high-level Ethiopian delegation, led by Comrade President Mengistu Haile Mariam, will exchange views with the Soviet leadership on ways of strengthening the ties and friendship between Ethiopia and the USSR, and on bilateral issues.

Commentary Sanguine on Cape Verde Talk Results
MB2507192788 Moscow in English to Southern Africa 1800 GMT 25 Jul 88

[Commentary by Aleksandr Bulkov]

[Text] A meeting of officials from Angola, Cuba, the Republic of South Africa, and the United States has been held on the Sal Island of the Republic of Cape Verde to discuss the development of the military situation in South-West Africa. The very fact is indicative that the latest meeting has taken place prior to the next official round of talks in Geneva scheduled for 2, 3, and 4 August. The status of the officials is also notable. They were chiefs of staff of the armies of Angola, Cuba, and the Republic of South Africa, who held a meeting with the mediation of a U.S. Defense Department official, and the deputy foreign ministers of Angola and the Republic of South Africa.

It looks likely that the sides have a serious intention to prepare for the Geneva talks. We have never been so close to solving the region's problems. That point was made over the weekend by President Jose Eduardo dos Santos of Angola. The hopes have never been so real either for turning South-West Africa into a zone of peace, free development, and (?cooperation).

We may add also the real hopes of turning Namibia, the last colony in Africa, into an independent, sovereign state. The main thing has been achieved: the consent of all sides to solve the issue politically. The RSA has acknowledged the need to solve the issue of South-West Africa on the basis of the provision contained in the UN Security Council Resolution 435 about a cease-fire, pull-out of the South African troops from Namibia, and holding there free, democratic elections under international supervision.

Is that a success? I would say this is a victory for those who prefer a sensible and balanced approach to solving the disputed issues instead of armed force. There are yet many difficulties, starting with how soon the Cuban troops are to be pulled out of Angola, and South African troops from Angola and Namibia, and ending with the Angolan antigovernment military grouping, UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola], which keeps getting support from Pretoria and Washington. That certainly amounts to interference in the internal affairs of Angola.

But let us be optimistic and hope that, after 4 August, when the next round of the official talks ends, there will be fewer disputed issues.

Briefs

New Zimbabwean Envoy

Sibanda, ambassador of the Republic of Zimbabwe, today in the Kremlin presented his credentials to Demichev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR

Supreme Soviet Presidium. The two held a friendly conversation. [Text] [LD2307011488 *Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 22 Jul 88*]

East Europe

Lizichev Welcomes Bulgaria's Mitkov on Arrival
PM2507140488 *Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA*
in Russian 19 Jul 88 Second Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "Delegation's Arrival"]

[Text] At the invitation of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, a delegation of leading political workers of the Bulgarian People's Army headed by Colonel General M. Mitkov, chief of the Bulgarian People's Army Main Political Directorate, arrived in Moscow on 18 July.

The delegation was met at the airport by Army General A.D. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate; Colonel General V.S. Nechayev, deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate; and other political workers.

Among the welcoming party was Major General B. Toshkov, Army, Navy, and Air Force attache to the Bulgarian Embassy in the USSR.

AUCCTU Head Meets With Czech Union Chief
PM2507115788 *Moscow TRUD in Russian*
23 Jul 88 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Meeting in the Palace of Labor"]

[Text] A meeting took place 22 July in the Palace of Labor between S.A. Shalayev, chairman of the AUCCTU, and M. Zavadil, chairman of Czechoslovakia's Revolutionary Trade Union Movement Central Council, who is in Moscow. Questions of further developing and improving cooperation between USSR and CSSR trade unions and also topical problems of the international trade union movement were discussed at the meeting.

Baltic Fleet Warships Visit Polish Port
PM2507140888 *Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA*
in Russian 22 Jul 88 First Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Visit Continues"]

[Text] Warsaw, 20 Jul—The official friendly visit to the Polish port of Szczecin by a detachment of Soviet warships under the flag of Admiral V.P. Ivanov, commander of the Baltic Fleet, continues. The detachment comprises the missile cruiser "Groznyy," the large anti-submarine vessel "Slavnyy," and the escort ship "Bditelnyy."

Today, representatives of the command of the detachment of Soviet ships arrived in Warsaw. Adm V.P. Ivanov was received by Army General J. Uzycki, chief of the Polish Army General Staff and Polish deputy national minister of defense. Taking part in the meeting were Rear Admiral P. Kolodziejczyk, commander of the Polish Navy; and Colonel A.V. Tenenev, military attache at the USSR Embassy in Poland.

Wreaths were laid at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier on Victory Square in Warsaw, as well as at the cemetery-mausoleum to Soviet servicemen who fell in the fight to liberate the Polish capital from the Hitlerite aggressors.

Yazov Greets Poland's Siwicki on National Day
PM2507140688 *Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA*
in Russian 22 Jul 88 First Edition p 1

[Message from Army General D. Yazov, USSR minister of defense, on Poland's national day: "To Army General Comrade F. Siwicki, Polish national minister of defense"]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Minister!

On behalf of the Soviet Armed Forces and on my own behalf, I send to you and to all Polish servicemen sincerest congratulations on Poland's national holiday—Polish Rebirth Day.

Firm bonds of fraternity and indissoluble friendship historically link the peoples and armies of our countries. The decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 10th PZPR Congress offer clear prospects for the all-around development and deepening of Soviet-Polish cooperation for our people's benefit and in the interests of the cause of peace and progress. The official friendly visit to Poland by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, gave a powerful boost to further improving Soviet-Polish collaboration. We highly value the fraternal combat alliance of the armies of the Warsaw Pact states and express confidence that, as always, it will be the guarantee of our peoples' socialist gains.

On this holiday, I wish you, Comrade Minister, and all Polish Army personnel new successes in increasing Poland's defense capability.

With communist greetings,

D. Yazov,

Army general, USSR minister of defense

Poland's Gwiazda Views USSR Economic Ties
PM2507140988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
22 Jul 88 Second Edition p 7

[Own correspondent A. Starukhin dispatch: "From Memorable July..."]

[Excerpt] Warsaw, Jul—[Passage omitted] Today Poland, like us, is continuing the profound restructuring of the mechanisms of economic functioning. Reliance is being placed on economic accountability [khozraschet] and the independence and rationalization of the administrative structure. Certain positive results have already been produced by the second stage of the reform. For instance, sales of industrial output for the first 6 months of this year were up 6.5 percent compared to the same period last year. This has been achieved due to growth in labor productivity. Meat procurements remained at their former level and milk procurements increased by 4 percent. Exports to the socialist countries have increased by almost 10 points [punkty; unit not further specified], and exports to the socialist countries have increased even more.

All-around economic cooperation with the Soviet Union is of fundamental importance for today's Poland. The recent period has been particularly valuable because of the creation of new-type economic ties. There are more than 200 Polish enterprises, institutes, and design bureaus directly cooperating with Soviet partners. New evidence of deepening Soviet-Polish cooperation was provided by the recent official friendly visit to Poland by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

I recently spoke with Wladyslaw Gwiazda, Polish minister of foreign economic cooperation:

"The latest intergovernmental resolutions regarding the eradication of foreign-exchange and other problems," the minister said, "will henceforth be checked on the basis of cooperation between real partners—not ones who have been designated from above but partners who have found each other on the basis of urgent practical requirements. I am convinced that this approach will bear very good fruit."

It is profoundly symbolic that the new Soviet peace initiatives have been voiced here, in reborn Poland, from the rostrum of the 500-year-old Sejm in a Warsaw risen from the ashes. There was the idea of creating a European war risk-reduction center, the holding of a meeting for all European countries to discuss the issue of conventional arms reduction, and, finally, the proposal for a three-stage reduction of armed forces and conventional arms in Europe. The documents of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee conference held in the Polish capital have aroused universal interest.

People's Poland has always advocated peace and a nonnuclear, nonviolent future for mankind. This is the cornerstone of its foreign policy.

Delegation to Romania Studies Legal Education
PM2507115388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
24 Jul 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Under the Plan for Interparty Ties"]

[Text] A delegation of CPSU party workers headed by A.S. Pavlov, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Administrative Organs Department, was in Romania 18-23 July in accordance with the plan for interparty ties. It studied the RCP's experience in the legal education of the country's population.

The delegation was received by I. Coman, member of the Political Executive Committee and secretary of the RCP Central Committee.

Latin America & Caribbean

Commentary on CIA's Work in Latin America
LD2507165788 Moscow TASS in English 1553 GMT
25 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 25 TASS—TASS commentator Anatoliy Medvedenko writes:

There is a quotation from the Gospel (John, Chapter 8, Article 32) engraved on a marble plaque in the central hall of the premises of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency in Langley. It says: "You will know the truth, and the truth will set you free".

One can easily understand what CIA officers regard as the truth and what, in their opinion, is freedom, if he analyzes the performance of the CIA in Latin America alone. It would be hardly possible to set forth in this commentary the history of the CIA that starts with the signing by President Harry Truman of the Law on National Security whose Article 108 provides for the creation of the CIA. However, it would be worthwhile to recall the main directions of its activities and the sphere of its interests.

Political experts believe that Washington helped by the CIA trample underfoot the sovereignty of one Latin American country a year, to say nothing of its permanent tacit interference in the affairs of Latin American countries. The developments in Cuba, Chile, Grenada, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, Guatemala, Honduras and Panama confirm these grim statistics. The example of Nicaragua is especially vivid in this respect. The Nicaraguan people observed recently the 9th anniversary of the overthrow of the Somoza regime. However, they could well observe at the same time another anniversary, namely, nine years of their struggle against the CIA which has favoured that small country with its unrelenting, special attention almost since the

first days after its gaining of national independence. There is no need mentioning here all the facts known to all that show what kind of attention it is. However, the latest ones deserve to be mentioned.

The U.S. press is writing a great deal these days about the deportation from Managua of a group of American diplomats led by U.S. Ambassador Richard Melton. It expresses regret, almost indignation, over the decision of the Sandinists to close the Catolica Broadcasting Station and the newspaper LA PRENSA. However, nothing is said about the [words indistinct] this forced step which, nevertheless, was necessary for ensuring national security. This was done because the multinational provocative activities of LA PRENSA were deeply financed by the CIA. According to the journal COLUMBIA JOURNAL REVIEW, the U.S. ambassador and other American diplomats openly urged the right-wing opposition to take illegal actions against the government.

As for the forms of interference, one example of Nicaragua shows how varied and numerous they can be. These include the training of professional terrorists, the financing of military gangs, the organization of economic sabotage and attempts on the lives of statesmen and politicians and even their assassination.

Dozens of prominent politicians, statesmen, servicemen and religious figures were assassinated in the past decade not without the participation of the agents of secret services. Their only "guilt" was that they did not suit Washington. These include Juan Jose Torres and Jaime Roldos, presidents of Bolivia and Ecuador respectively, Generals Rene Schneider and Carlos Prats, commanders-in-chief of the Armed Forces of Chile, Orlando Letelier, a minister in the government of Salvador Allende, Rafael Hoyos, head of the General Staff of the Peruvian Army, Romero, archbishop of El Salvador whose tragic fate is described in the film "El Salvador", as well as Omar Torrijos, leader of the Panamanian revolution.

These are the unseemly activities of the CIA with the help of which Washington pursues its policy in Latin America, the same (as in) other regions of the world.

Lizichev Receives Cuban Army Political Workers
PM2507141088 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 22 Jul 88 First Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "Guests From Fraternal Cuba"]

[Text] A delegation of leading political workers from the Revolutionary Armed Forces of the Republic of Cuba headed by Colonel H. Hernandez Garcia, first deputy chief of the Central Political Directorate of the Revolutionary Armed Forces, was in the Soviet Union 16 through 20 July.

The delegation was received by Army General A.D. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate. Taking part in the talk were Fleet Admiral A.I. Sorokin, first deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, and Colonel General V.S. Nechayev, deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate.

At the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate and Moscow Military District Political Directorate the Cuban guests were briefed on the activity of the Soviet Armed Forces' political organs in fulfilling the decisions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. The conversations took place in a warm, friendly atmosphere.

The delegation visited the M.I. Kalinin Taman Guards Motorized Infantry Division.

Yazov Greets Raul Castro on Holiday
PM2607103188 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 26 Jul 88 First Edition p 1

[Message from USSR Defense Minister Yazov to Cuban Armed Forces Minister Raul Castro]

[Text] To Comrade Army General Raul Castro Ruz, minister of the Cuban Revolutionary Armed Forces

Esteemed Comrade Minister!

On behalf of the USSR Armed Forces and myself personally I cordially congratulate you and all Cuban servicemen on your holiday—national uprising day.

The heroic storming of the Moncada barracks on 26 July 1953 laid the foundation to a new stage of the liberation struggle in Cuba and was the prologue to the people's revolution which triumphed in 1959.

On this big holiday Soviet servicemen wish the fraternal Cuban people and Revolutionary Armed Forces personnel new successes in building socialism and strengthening the country's defense capability.

May the collaboration between the USSR and Republic of Cuba Armed Forces strengthen and develop!

With communist greetings,

Army General D. Yazov, USSR defense minister.

CPSU Delegation Arrives in Ecuador
LD2107020888 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1940 GMT 20 Jul 88

[Text] Quito, 20 Jul (TASS)—A CPSU delegation has arrived here to take part in the work of the 11th

Congress of the Communist Party of Ecuador (CPE). It is led by Viktor Smirnov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and second secretary of the Communist Party of Moldavia Central Committee. At the airport in the Ecuadorean capital the CPSU delegation was welcomed by Gandhi Burbano, member of the executive committee of the CPE Central Committee and secretary of the Central Committee, and Jose Regatto member of the executive committee of the Central Committee.

Delegation Leaves for Latin America Tour

LD2407221088 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1800 GMT 24 Jul 88

[Text] A delegation of the USSR Council of the Union headed by Khabibullayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, has left Moscow on official visits to Uruguay and Bolivia at the invitation of the parliaments of these countries. On its way there the delegation will hold working meetings in Argentina and Peru.

Political & Social

Shevardnadze Speaks on Foreign Policy
PM2607101988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
26 Jul 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "19th All-Union CPSU Conference: Foreign Policy and Diplomacy"]

[Text] A Foreign Ministry scientific and practical conference which opened 25 July is devoted to this topic. Its aim is to analyze the accumulated experience; to conceptualize the period following the April Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the 27th CPSU Congress; and to determine ways, forms, and methods of work which will ensure the deepening and irreversibility of restructuring Soviet diplomacy.

A report was made by Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister. He focused on the results of the party conference and shared his personal impressions on Mikhail Gorbachev's report and the delegates' speeches. He then concentrated on the key philosophical and conceptual questions posed to Soviet diplomacy by the practice of the past 3 years and the working conclusions drawn from them.

From the very beginning of perestroyka, he said, we aspired to stimulate our best creative forces. It was a fine time of a fresh, spring renewal of foreign policy. A time of the April plenum and party congress, of Paris and Geneva, of Vladivostok and Reykjavik, of Washington and Moscow, of the 15th January statement, and the Delhi Declaration. A time of working out bold decisions concerning the scrapping of medium and shorter-range missiles, and the withdrawal of our troops from Afghanistan.

For the first time in the history of Soviet diplomacy, the party leader held a meeting with its big workforce. While visiting us, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev spoke at a general Foreign Ministry conference and defined the basic parameters and directions of our activity. We have restructured ourselves structurally and in essence. We have gained new experience and have emerged to new frontiers of departure.

Great positive changes have taken place in the USSR's foreign policy over the past 3 years. Mankind has received a multitude of confirmations of our resolve to steadfastly implement the program for stage-by-stage liquidation of nuclear weapons by the year 2000; to realize ideas for the creation of a system of all-embracing security, a "common European home," defense sufficiency and nonoffensive defense, the resolving of regional conflicts, the calling back of troops from bases on foreign territories, and so on.

In his report, Eduard Shevardnadze repeatedly returned to the ideas and proposals expressed by ministry personnel during preparations for the party conference. It was noted that the braking mechanism, developed in the

years when excessive centralization and administrative-command methods also held sway in the foreign policy sphere, has not yet been smashed once and for all. It was also noted that even to this day some comrades are unreceptive to collegial and democratic discussion of problems. It was stressed that in discussing the fate of the country, the appearance of varied and sometimes diametrically opposed points of view is a natural phenomenon. While not underestimating the danger of conservatism, it is also important to be aware of the danger of ultraleft deviations and to ward off, with the same amount of patience, attempts to resolve all problems of life at one fell swoop.

It was stated that the innovative concept of socialism set forth at the party conference in the general secretary's report puts an end to the monopoly that entrenches the principle of the single alternative, dogmatism, and the dangerous sense of one's own infallibility. Democratization, glasnost, and the renunciation of excessive secrecy are the most efficient means for combatting it. [Moscow TASS International Service in Russian at 1605 GMT on 25 July carries a similar report, which renders the two preceding sentences as follows: "It was stated that the innovative concept of socialism set forth at the party conference in the general secretary's report puts an end to the monopoly that entrenches the principle of the single alternative, dogmatism, and the renunciation of excessive secrecy are the most efficient means for combatting it."] The democratization of the country is an essential condition and prerequisite for the democratization of international relations.

The 19th all-union party conference conclusion on enhancing the role of political means of ensuring security, Eduard Shevardnadze said, generates very serious consequences of a dual nature for the Foreign Ministry. First, our responsibility for prompt and correct evaluations of international situations increases dramatically. Second, one has to interpret in a new way the place and the role of the USSR Foreign Ministry within the structure of executive power, thereby assuring its increased activity, responsibility, and efficiency in developing our foreign policy in all of its aspects.

Eduard Shevardnadze focused on the constitutional and legal mechanism of the adoption of foreign policy decisions, which is defined in the report as a guarantee of their infallibility. The minister then stressed that the present conference is aimed not only at the staff in Soviet diplomacy and scientists, but also at the main target—the Soviet public, all Soviet people. Nationwide participation in forming foreign policy is a vital necessity. Soviet diplomacy, the main point of whose activity is the people's good, is obliged to explain itself to the people; obliged to plan its work in accordance with the people's expectations, hopes, and aspirations; obliged to answer to them for its actions and demarches. In the state accepting the rule of law which we are building, it is an

obligatory norm for us. The 19th party conference decision on forming a constitutional-plenipotentiary mechanism for discussing and adopting major foreign policy decisions has been achieved through the suffering of our people. The decision on monitoring by popularly elected bodies on the basis of the democratic process was also achieved through the suffering by our diplomacy. The implementation of this decision in full is restoring its prestige and returning the primordial functions which are inherent only to it.

From the party conference decisions to create the constitutional-plenipotentiary mechanism follows the need to introduce a legislative procedure in accordance with which all departments concerned with military and military-industrial activity will be under the control of the supreme nationwide elected bodies. This affects both questions of utilizing military force outside the country's national frontiers and plans for defense construction, and the openness of military budgets in their main conjugation with the problem of national security.

Perestroika has thrown new light on the potential for people's diplomacy. At the UN General Assembly Third Special Session on Disarmament, we were convinced of how great its potential was in forming innovative approaches to problems of peace and how strong is its influence on politicians.

A detailed historical review of the Soviet state's foreign policy activity is given in the report. When speaking about the lessons of the past and in assessing them, said Eduard Shevardnadze, we are duty bound to take into account the nature and system of power, the methods prevalent at that moment in time of making decisions, and specific historical circumstances. The rapporteur adduced such achievements of Soviet diplomacy as the formation and strengthening of the anti-Hitler coalition; the solution of the large-scale task of arranging the post-war world; the creation of the United Nations; the achievement of a number of very important agreements in the sphere of limiting the arms race; and the Helsinki Final Act, which laid the beginning for the pan-European process. At the same time, he noted, not all opportunities were used fully to prevent the appearance of the "Iron Curtain" and to limit the scale and acuteness of confrontation and the arms race. A direct and open analysis of the history of Soviet foreign policy reveals the natural influence that the deformations in the country's internal life had on our line in international affairs. Each departure from Leninist principles in internal policy had a serious negative effect on Soviet diplomacy.

The report notes that the new political thinking views peaceful coexistence in the context of the realities of the nuclear century. We are fully justified in refusing to see in it a special form of class struggle. One must not identify coexistence, which is based on such principles as nonaggression, respect for sovereignty and national independence, noninterference in internal affairs and so on, with class struggle. The struggle between two opposing

systems is no longer a determining tendency of the present-day era. At the modern stage, the ability to build up material wealth at an accelerated rate on the basis of front-ranking science and high-level techniques and technology, and to distribute it fairly, and through joint efforts to restore and protect the resources necessary for mankind's survival acquires decisive importance.

One of the motives of the arms race foisted on us by the West has been counting on the economic exhaustion of socialism. Now the truth, which Mikhail Gorbachev indicated in a speech at a general Foreign Ministry conference in May 1986, is completely obvious: The idea, which gained a firm hold in the minds and deeds of certain strategists, that the Soviet Union could be as strong as any possible coalition of states opposing it is absolutely groundless. To follow it means to act clearly against the national interests. We cannot, said Mikhail Sergeyevich, permit ourselves the luxury of "imitating" the United States, NATO, and Japan in all their military-technical novelties. At the same time, in the modern world, a country's security undoubtedly means the availability of duly trained and equipped armed forces.

An important place in the report is given to the issues of developing and strengthening the Soviet Union's relations with the socialist countries. At the stage of restructuring and renewal, the world socialist system, the socialist community, is our enormous, priceless property. And at the same time, as a factor of peace and progress, it is the property of the whole of civilization, mankind. To augment it, improve it, and develop contacts between allies means to make peace more reliable and more secure. It means to become stronger and guarantee the realization of our peacemaking ideas.

The Soviet Union's approach to its relations with the developing countries—cooperation with them and the provision of assistance for them—and to the settling of regional conflicts is expounded in detail. Undoubtedly the movement toward the lowering of tension and the settling of regional conflicts, notes the minister, is going to be uneven and, of course, not smooth, but this movement has started and is proceeding on a wide front. Afghanistan has created a "chain reaction".

The theme of the shape of the Soviet state as an important aspect of its existence in the international community, in the modern civilized world, occupied a special place in the report. Today we are overcoming the "relic" of the years of stagnation and are building a foreign policy that will forever exclude the very possibility of our behavior not conforming with our ideals.

Speaking about the restructuring of the approach to human rights, Eduard Shevardnadze stressed that we are carrying it out not because someone is putting pressure on us or is trying to profit from this subject, but because such an approach corresponds to the ideals and principles of socialism.

The rapporteur noted that up until recently science was in essence divorced from diplomatic "production." In the past 3 years the situation had been changing for the better. Soviet foreign policy is open to Soviet and world science. From the political point of view, this means to fulfilling the 19th party conference provision on the direct inclusion of science in policy. In this connection the report examines in detail the tasks of expanding the cooperation between diplomacy and science in the spheres of history, international law, and disarmament, and in the foreign economic sphere.

Having depicted culture as an active and skillful emissary of peace, Eduard Shevardnadze stressed that a well thought-out cultural policy in the sphere of external relations is obliged to utilize to a maximum everything that is to be found in the very nature of the intelligentsia. One can extend the access representatives of the intelligentsia have to the foreign public by creating a more ramified network of channels for informal, international contacts for cultural and scientific figures.

He expressed a series of wishes for international journalism. The minister proposed that in planning this or that action, the views of not only scientists should be taken into account, but also of our best journalists specializing in international affairs. We must think how we can introduce into the country's international affairs journalism a pluralism of views and evaluations, and how we can use them to check on the course and line of foreign policy.

Talking of the restructuring of the central apparatus of the USSR Foreign Ministry and its institutions abroad, Eduard Shevardnadze noted that the present structure of the ministry, its new functional and territorial-sectional subdepartments, are being increasingly directed toward the highest priorities of foreign policy strategy. On the whole, the reorganization of the ministry has proved justified.

Completing the report, the minister said: "We are convinced that the restructuring of international relations—with a simultaneous restructuring of foreign policy and diplomacy—is irreversible. It is irreversible because it follows the single flow of transformations and renewal of our socialist country. Because, following the course of the party, it expresses the people's aspirations."

The debates then took place. On Tuesday, 26 July, the conference will continue its work at sessions of eight sections, where they will discuss various directions of foreign policy activity.

Taking part in the conference's work are A.F. Dobrynin and V.A. Medvedev, secretaries of the CPSU Central Committee; V.M. Kamentsev and B.L. Tolstykh, deputy chairmen of the USSR Council of Ministers; USSR Ministers K.F. Katushev and V.I. Gostev; G.I. Marchuk, president of the USSR Academy of Sciences; O.S. Bel'yakov and S.V. Chervonenko, chiefs of CPSU Central Committee departments; S.F. Akhromeyev, USSR first deputy defense minister and chief of the USSR Armed

Forces General Staff; A.I. Vlasov, first deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Propaganda Department; senior officials from the CPSU Central Committee and a number of ministries and departments; scientists; cultural figures; and mass media representatives.

Further on Unrest in Armenia, Azerbaijan Areas

'Practical Measures' Resolution
PM2607095188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
26 Jul 88 Second Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "At the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium have adopted a resolution "on practical measures for implementing the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolution on the issue of Nagorno-Karabakh." In accordance with the resolution of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium of 18 July 1988 "on the decisions of the Supreme Soviets of the Armenian SSR and the Azerbaijani SSR on the issue of Nagorno-Karabakh," the document reads:

Comrade Volskiy, member of the CPSU Central Committee, deputy of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and head of a CPSU Central Committee department, is to be sent as the representative of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium to the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] of Azerbaijan SSR. He is to organize and coordinate the work of the party, soviet, and economic bodies of Azerbaijan, Armenia, and the NKAO in order to implement the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the USSR Council of Ministers on Nagorno-Karabakh, having been invested with appropriate powers.

The Central Committees of the Azerbaijani and Armenian Communist Parties, the Supreme Soviet Presidia, the Councils of Ministers of the Azerbaijan SSR and the Armenian SSR, and the appropriate union ministries and departments have been instructed to provide every facility and assistance to the representative of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium in implementing the tasks for the unconditional fulfillment of the adopted party and state decisions. For this purpose he is empowered, when necessary, to enlist the aid of senior officials of the CPSU Central Committee apparatus, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, ministries and departments, and other central bodies in order to solve any questions which may arise.

In accordance with the provisions of the 18 July, 1988 resolution of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, a special commission has been organized from deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities.

Stepanakert, Yerevan Situations

PM2507152288 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
26 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 3

[S. Bablunyan and G. Melikyants report: "Everyone Agrees on the Main Point"]

[Text] Yerevan has had no rallies for 4 days now. The city has heaved a sigh of relief. Meetings are being held at enterprises, institutions, and scientific institutes at which all questions are discussed in an incomparably more democratic atmosphere. Although not everything is yet back to normal, the voice of prudence is heard more and more loudly:

"I became convinced very rapidly that whipping up passions and calling for strikes is something alien to our society," People's Artist of the USSR Sos Sarkisyan, master of the Soviet stage, says. "These methods do not belong in our life; they are harmful to the just cause. Here is a distressing example. In the Armenian capital, a place where people could gather and discuss questions that concern them emerged, so to speak, of its own accord: Theater Square, a beautiful, convenient square big enough for speeches on various subjects to ring out in its different corners. Perhaps a tradition of people's meetings on a truly democratic basis could have sprung up. But we lost this highly promising opportunity because of stereotyped speeches and foolish actions. Let me say frankly: We found ourselves unexpectedly on the verge of a situation with no way out. Our intelligentsia now has only one option: We must literally not sleep. We must go from house to house, from person to person, explaining what opportunities are now opening up for the economic and spiritual development of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO]. Concrete steps are needed now."

And such steps are already being taken. In view of the fact that the problems of Nagorno-Karabakh have served as a cause of tension, Doctor of Juridical Sciences V. Nazaryan says, it is we who should do everything necessary to relax the tension. That is why I, together with Sos Sarkisyan, poet Silva Kaputikyan, and other cultural personalities from Yerevan, flew to Stepanakert last Friday.

There were meetings at the silk combine, the electrical equipment plant, the footwear factory, and other enterprises. In particular, Sos Sarkisyan spoke at a local industry production combine. The hall was full to overflowing. First they greeted him coldly. "Why have you come?" "To talk." And Sos Sarkisyan said that although the situation in the autonomous oblast remains complex, the restoration of a normal working rhythm would help lessen people's spiritual tension. That is very important, because everyone together faces a great many tasks, most importantly the implementation of the resolutions by the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers on the NKAO's development. He also said that the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolution does not overlook the question of expanding the autonomous

oblast's ties with the Armenian SSR. That includes production and transport ties. And, of course, cultural ties; we cannot live by bread alone....

"People gradually thawed. I realized that recently they have not done much talking among themselves; for a long time they have not met. One sensed that they were poorly informed. In Yerevan I spoke for a long time with one person about the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolution, and eventually it turned out that he had not actually read the resolution.... So the workers at the Stepanakert combine came up to me with questions even after the end of the meeting. It was clear that they are longing to get on with their work."

Then there were meetings at the House of Political Enlightenment, and the next day at the oblast's Gorkiy Theater. They lasted 5-6 hours each. Various opinions were voiced, but everyone agreed on the main point: It is necessary to work; it is necessary in the shortest possible time to make up lost ground and repay the economic debt to the country.

In Stepanakert today, practically all the enterprises, organizations, and institutions are working.

Yerevan 'Mood' Changing 'Slowly'

PM2507165088 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
26 Jul 88 First Edition p 6

[Special correspondent G. Ovcharenko report: "Much Business Has Accumulated"]

[Text] These days, when you go to the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee or the party gorkom or raykoms, you sense how the situation is changing here. There is no longer a mass of people in the corridors and offices; the conversations are shorter and more concrete.

"We are changing our work style," O. Daniyelyan, secretary of Yerevan Armenian Communist Party Gorkom, explained. "We are not summoning people to us; we are going to them."

This is indeed true. All the party and soviet workers are spending the greater part of their time in the labor collectives, explaining the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolution, and calling on them to make up the time lost during the strikes.

In Yerevan today all the industrial, trade, and public transport enterprises are working. The confidence that there will be no more stoppages is emerging. But people's mentality and mood are changing only slowly.

Today it is hard to talk to people in Yerevan, hard to find a common language. They agree unreservedly on only one thing: Strikes are not the way to solve problems.

Today I was at last able to have an unhurried conversation with M. Minasbekyan. He was elected party gorkom first secretary 10 days ago. He has spent all that time visiting enterprises, being among people, in the thick of events. But that does not mean that behind their day-to-day affairs, people on the gorkom are not thinking about the long term. They are working on programs on ecology, housing, water supplies, urban transport, trade. They are not working in secret, as before, but are involving all strata of the people of Yerevan. The gorkom has a telephone hot line for people to put forward their wishes and proposals. Twice a week, senior gorkom and city soviet officials appear on local television. In the past week, the people of Yerevan have made hundreds of concrete proposals for improving the situation in the city and tackling a number of socioeconomic problems.

An appeal from internationalist servicemen of Armenian nationality serving in Afghanistan reached the republic today. It says, in particular:

"We internationalist servicemen are very worried and seriously concerned about events taking place in Nagorno-Karabakh, a small part of Azerbaijan and Armenia. These disorders weigh heavily on our hearts. We servicemen cannot understand what prompts the individual extremist elements to forcibly push our people into unlawful actions.

"We ask you to abandon petty ambitions, listen to reason, and return to the good times when the peoples of Armenia and Azerbaijan lived in peace, friendship, and concord. We also appeal to internationalist servicemen who have been released to the reserves to help in every way to maintain public order in individual regions of Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh. We ask them to play an active part in the resumption of work at enterprises and not to allow extremist elements to kindle and whip up hostility in Armenia and Azerbaijan.

"We call on you not to give way to provocative attempts to call into question the territorial integrity of Armenia and Azerbaijan. Do not allow yourselves to be distracted from fulfilling the priority tasks of the economic and social development of our brother peoples, tasks mapped out by the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th all-union party conference."

A routine session of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau was held yesterday to examine questions concerning the inflammatory nature of speeches at rallies held in Yerevan.

The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau condemned extremist, inflammatory, politically harmful speeches and called on party gorkoms and raykoms, primary party organizations, the mass information and propaganda media, and all ideological components to launch active, aggressive work to expose the antipopular nature of the activity of the "Karabakh" committee activists. It is also necessary to convey to all

communists and every working person the true meaning and significance of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolution on Nagorno-Karabakh. It is necessary to evaluate from principled party standpoints, regardless of people's posts and titles, the conduct of party members who made irresponsible statements and provocative appeals and did serious damage to the vital interests of the Armenian people and the entire ideology of the renewal of society.

Workers Agree To Help NKAO

PM2607103988 Moscow TRUD in Russian
26 Jul 88 p 4

[Special correspondent Yu. Petrov dispatch under the "On the Spot Report" rubric: "Yerevan, 25 July"]

[Text] Many enterprises in Armenia's capital did not stop work on Saturday and Sunday. The new week was marked by enhanced labor discipline—the city's working people showed understanding of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau's decision following its discussion of party gorkoms and raykoms and primary party organizations' tasks stemming from the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolution "On the Resolutions by the Armenian SSR and Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviets on the Nagorno-Karabakh Question."

The Bureau made a principled assessment of events in Yerevan and other Armenian cities, the "Karabakh" committee's activity, the consequences of the strikes, and the errors in political, organizational, and ideological work. The Bureau approved the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolution and expressed the common opinion that, in the prevailing conditions, any other decision would have been contrary to the genuine interests of the peoples in both republics and would have seriously damaged interethnic relations.

It set the task of launching active work to solve the accumulated problems in social development and to improve the moral and ethical atmosphere. First and foremost comes the restoration of a normal work rhythm in the national economy's sectors. A meeting of party, war, and labor veterans was held in the Yerevan party gorkom. They called on Communists, young people, and all residents in the city to show common sense. It was suggested that veterans' groups be set up in all collectives to carry out explanatory work.

Trade union organizations in enterprises are beginning to step up their activities.

Front-ranking workers at the "Aviastroy" Trust suggested that their collective should discuss the possibility of helping working people in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. It was decided to perform extra construction and installation work in Stepanakert over and above their own plan orders in the period until 1995.

The construction industry workers asked specialists from the "Armogosproyekt" Institute to draw up planning estimates for projects in Nagorno-Karabakh with the minimum of delay.

This initiative was picked up by a number of other collectives. For example, the No 12 "Agroremstroy" Trust pledged to use its own profits to build four apartment blocks in Stepanakert over and above the state orders.

Readiness to help Nagorno-Karabakh's working people in implementing the broad program of social, economic, and cultural development set by the country's government was expressed by labor collectives from the plant for centralized manufacture of store fittings and fixtures, the V.I. Lenin Republican Clinical Hospital, and the "Zaktruboprovodstroy" Trust.

Further proof of the improving situation in Armenia is offered by...marriages. In the last few months they seem to have been held in secret. But cars decorated with flowers and ribbons are again crossing V.I. Lenin Square, with newly married couples smiling and folk music playing.

People want to live a quiet and constructive life. Once they can do so, all the problems will be solved much more quickly.

Armenian Presidium Meets

NC2607072988 Yerevan Domestic Service in Russian
0530 GMT 26 Jul 88

[From the review of KOMMUNIST]

[Text] ARMENPRES reports that a session of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Armenian SSR was held on 25 July to examine the issue of the tasks for the fulfillment of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree on the question of Nagorno-Karabakh. An appropriate resolution was adopted on the subject under discussion.

Resolution on Unrest Adopted

NC2607075588 Yerevan Domestic Service in Russian
0530 GMT 26 Jul 88

[From the review of KOMMUNIST]

[text] The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau has examined the question of the seditious nature of the speeches made at meetings that have been held recently in Yerevan. The resolution adopted on the question notes that the speeches made at meetings held in Yerevan and other towns and centers of population of the republic by the so-called Karabakh committee—which has been abolished by a decree of the Armenian Supreme Soviet Presidium—and its activists have begun to display a politically harmful, extremist, and seditious nature. They contain calls for strikes and the election of new trade union committees, councils of labor collectives, and heads of enterprises and organizations. In the

last few days, at meetings in Yerevan, speakers have demanded a boycott of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium's 18 July resolution on the question of Nagorno-Karabakh, inflamed national dissent through slanderous fabrications attempting to drive a wedge into the friendship between the Armenian and Russian peoples, and permitted abusive statements to be made about party and state organs.

Lack of enterprise in the political work of the party and social aktiv and the mass media has led to a certain segment of the republic's population acquiring a distorted understanding of true national interests, while civic responsibility has not infrequently given way to emotions and ill-considered actions. The resolution speaks of the tasks of party organizations in the situation that has been created, and of the necessity to utilize all forms and means of politically influencing the masses.

Enterprises To Work Weekends

NC2607075888 Yerevan Domestic Service in Russian
0530 GMT 26 Jul 88

[From the review of KOMMUNIST]

[Text] ARMENPRES correspondents report that many of the republic's industrial enterprises and associations, especially the ones that operate under conditions of full autonomy and self-financing, have come out with an initiative to extend their operating hours. They will work on Saturdays and Sundays in order to make up for omissions and to restore a normal rhythm to the work of the republic's economy. The newspaper publishes concrete figures and data from the various enterprises.

More on Yerevan Workers' Return

LD2507104188 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
0500 GMT 26 Jul 88

[Report from Yerevan by correspondents (Leonid Lazarevich) and (Karyun Khumoryan)]

[Text] [(Lazarevich)] Good morning. Today, as it was yesterday, all of Yerevan is working. To start with we shall sum up the results of the past days. I shall ask Karyun, who has just this minute come into the studio, to do this. He has been getting the most up-to-date figures.

[(Khumoryan)] Just as I was about to come into the studio I telephoned the party gorkom. (Ivarsan Petrosyan) from the industry section told me that on Saturday and Sunday alone the city's industrial enterprises manufactured R13 million worth of produce over and above their program. The shortfall in production has been cut by more than 19 percent. On the initiative of the councils of labor collectives, many enterprises and organizations have embarked upon a new program—an extended working day. And the collective of the Kirovakan cotton production association and a number of other enterprises have gone over to round-the-clock work.

[(Lazarevich)] Yes, people are working. Even more, they are trying to make up as quickly as possible for the loss caused to the country, the republic, and themselves by the strikes. It is a small detail, but I have found that wages were held up for a few days at several institutions and enterprises. I believe this was caused by the fact that the republic produced few goods, and of course there were fewer of them in the stores. And it is from there—the stores—that the money goes to the bank, where the cash office people go to get our wages.

[(Khumoryan)] There is something else of more significance: Every day of the strikes slowed down the socioeconomic development of our republic, which, believe me, has very many problems. It had them yesterday and it has them today. For example, so that every Yerevan resident can have a separate apartment, we have to build double the amount of housing we now have in the city. And every day of the strike denied the capital's inhabitants 32 apartments.

[(Lazarevich)] Yesterday I was down at a construction site and saw that people were working well, good houses are being built. And they are trying to ensure that the apartments which the Yerevan residents have not received due to the strikes are actually received by them as soon as possible. The need for housing in Yerevan is very great. All the working people of Armenia want to fulfill, supplement, and make up the losses. All the same, it strikes me that we still cannot say that the situation has stabilized completely. It remains tense. Everywhere I have been on the streets people have been speaking about the problems of Nagorno-Karabakh.

[(Khumoryan)] And it is natural that at the center of attention today are the latest articles about Karabakh published in the republican newspapers, and first and foremost the resolution of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on practical measures to implement the resolution on Nagorno-Karabakh. Comrade Volskiy, member of the CPSU Central Committee, is to be sent as a representative to the autonomous oblast to organize and coordinate the work of the party, local soviet, and economic bodies of Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Nagorno-Karabakh.

Commentary Reviews Events

NC2607082188 *Baku International Service in Azeri*
1200 GMT 21 Jul 88

[Station commentary]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium held a meeting on 18 July to examine the question of Nagorno-Karabakh. The incidents in and around Nagorno-Karabakh, which is a small autonomous oblast in the Azerbaijan SSR, have been causing concern among the Soviet people for several months now.

On the day after the meeting, that is, on the evening of 19 July, the squares in Yerevan, the capital of the Armenian SSR, where thousands had demonstrated, were empty. Likewise, there was no one to be seen in the squares of Baku, the capital of Azerbaijan SSR; Stepanakert, the capital of Nagorno-Karabakh; and many other cities and towns in our country. This was because the central television network was carrying the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium's meeting. Everyone was closely following the way the matter was discussed in the Kremlin in Moscow.

The debate centered on what was described in Mikhail Gorbachev's speech as the disruption of the USSR Constitution, which is the basis of the people's friendship.

Let us say a few words about the nature of the problem. The Nagorno-Karabakh Oblast was given autonomous status within the Azerbaijan SSR 65 years ago. Many social and economic problems remained unresolved in the Azerbaijan SSR during the past few years. This caused anxiety. The Armenians in Nagorno-Karabakh saw this as a case of national discrimination. While assessing the causes of the present situation, the representatives of the Armenian and Azerbaijan SSR's and the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKA0] agreed unanimously that the former leaders in Azerbaijan were responsible. However, extremist elements exploited the grievances. They were supported by forces opposed to the reconstruction drive, bribe-taking individuals, and leaders of [word indistinct] economy.

The NKA0 People's Deputies Soviet called for the transfer of Nagorno-Karabakh from the Azerbaijan SSR to the Armenian SSR. The Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet supported the call. The Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet, however, categorically rejected the transfer. Representatives of the Armenian and Azerbaijan SSR's expressed conflicting views during the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium meeting in Moscow. However, Mikhail Gorbachev told them that it was not appropriate to maintain irreconcilable positions at a time when complex and delicate problems were being dealt with. The debate on the matter was a long one, but the problem was resolved.

The representatives of the other republics expressed regret that the Armenian and Azerbaijan SSR's had failed to give due consideration to the interests of the multinational union. It was noted that the alteration of the territories of the republics and the oblasts could obstruct the development of the united economy. The economies of the other republics had sustained millions of rubles worth of damage as a result of the demonstrations that were held in front of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet, and this was given as an example in that regard. The representatives said that a reconsideration of national structures is not the priority task. What is urgent, however, is the removal of national and social injustices. It should be recalled at this point that the

USSR Supreme Soviet allocated an additional 500 million rubles from the USSR budget last spring for the purpose of boosting development in Nagorno-Karabakh.

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium adopted a decision on the question of Nagorno-Karabakh. It described any alteration of the territories of the Azerbaijan and Armenian SSR's as impossible within the terms of the constitution. The constitution stipulates that it is impossible to alter the territories of an allied republic without its consent.

The Presidium also decided to send representatives to Nagorno-Karabakh and to set up a special committee to examine the problem.

Emotions have gained acute proportions in Nagorno-Karabakh. However, Mikhail Gorbachev has said: Nevertheless, we have strong confidence in the sound thinking, experience, and understanding of the workers in the Armenian and Azerbaijan SSR's.

Resettlement Committee Formed

NC2607074788 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri
1600 GMT 23 Jul 88

[Text] The Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee has examined the organization of the work that is being carried out in connection with the needs of the Azerbaijanis who have moved from the Armenian SSR to the Azerbaijan SSR. The Central Committee adopted the following decision: A certain number of Azerbaijanis have moved from the Armenian SSR to the Azerbaijan SSR as a result of the incidents in and around Nagorno-Karabakh during the past few months. The party and soviet organs in the republic's cities and rayons have been giving them the necessary attention. However, it has been established that in some places their needs and concerns have not received proper attention. Matters concerning their resettlement, including the livelihood and medical services they need, have not been appropriately resolved.

The Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee has set up a republic committee to intensify the work being done in connection with the people who have moved from the Armenian SSR to the Azerbaijan SSR temporarily, with a view to promptly resolving matters concerning their resettlement and the livelihood services and housing facilities they require. The committee will be made up of the following comrades: Gasan Seidov, chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers; Tel'man Orudzhev, secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee; Naim Fataliyev, deputy chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; Dadash Asanov, deputy chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers Presidium; Mamedov, secretary of the Baku City Party Committee; Orudzhev, secretary of the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Trade Unions; Orudzhev, minister of the Azerbaijan SSR

Motor Transport Services; Yakubov, chief of the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers Soviet Organs Department; Ilyasov, deputy minister of internal affairs; and Azizov, first deputy chairman of the Baku City Soviet Executive Committee.

The committee was requested to establish close relations with the party and soviet organs in the Armenian SSR to facilitate the timely settlement of the problems and participate in the effort by the administrations and organizations in the two republics in that regard.

It was deemed necessary to establish similar committees headed by the chairmen of the city and rayon people's deputies soviet executive committees in all the republic's cities and rayons.

The Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee departments, the oblast, city, and rayon party committees, and the local people's deputies soviets were requested to step up mass political work among the Azerbaijani people who have moved from the Armenian SSR to the Azerbaijan SSR. They were instructed to explain the nature of Lenin's national policy, including the historic importance of the USSR Supreme Soviet decision on the question of Nagorno-Karabakh of 18 July 1988 and Mikhail Gorbachev's address speech on the problem.

Vezirov Reports on Meeting

NC2607065288 Baku Domestic Service in Russian
0347 GMT 26 Jul 88

[From the Republican Press Review]

[Text] The papers report that the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan held a session on 25 July to hear a report from Comrade Vezirov on his meeting with members of the Nagorno-Karabakh Obkom Bureau. The participants in the session examined the requests and proposals they had made aimed at stabilizing the situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] and at ensuring that the people's economy functions normally. The importance of the unconditional fulfillment of the decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers on measures for achieving the socioeconomic development of the NKAO in 1988-95 was particularly emphasized at the Secretariat session.

The Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers and the ministries and administrative departments of the republic have been instructed, in conjunction with the ispolkom of the NKAO Soviet of People's Deputies, to make an effective study of the questions raised at the session and adopt the appropriate concrete measures.

Factories Resume Operations

LD2507163588 Moscow TASS in English 1619 GMT
25 Jul 88

[Text] Stepanakert July 25 TASS—A local factory producing lighting fixtures for schools, hospitals and administrative buildings, which are supplied to customers elsewhere in the country, today discontinued a two-month-old strike, with practically all its employees back in their work places.

"We won't, of course, be able to get attuned to a normal working rhythm at once," said B. Arushanyan, director of the electrical engineering factory. "This will take two or three days."

"The long idleness due to the strike has caused serious disruptions in the performance of production equipment. We are aware of the size of the output shortfall resulting from the walk-out, which has lasted for a combined three and a half months.

"Five million roubles worth of goods have remained unproduced, we have let down many factories depending on us for components, the people are worn out," Arushanyan continued.

"We have worked out a number of measures that could partially mend the state of affairs. Triple-shift working will be organized, engineers, technicians and ancillary personnel will be employed as assembly line workers. The collective are prepared to work on days-off as well," he added.

It took the staff of the Karabakh silk combine, who include mostly women, some two hours to tidy their workplaces up as a lot of dust had gathered on their looms over the two months that they had stayed away from the machinery.

But it will be another several days before the factory, which hummed back into operation again today, regains a normal stride, fine-tuning the production cycle and bringing starting materials to the desired condition.

"We've grown tired without work which we like and can do well," said S. Petrosyan, a twister from the combine. "We hope to put things right fast, though we realize that the year's plan has been stymied and we won't be able to meet it."

Combine Director B. Atayan said: "We were afraid many of our workers wouldn't be able to make it for the morning shift. So we sent all the factory's passenger transport, including the car assigned to the director, along the routes of city buses to pick up our employees and give them a ride to the combine.

"Practically all the employees today reported to work and when we use our buses tomorrow to deliver people also from the nearby villages, I hope we'll have the entire collective in place working on our very challenging production plan," Atayan added.

The director's apprehensions about the way the city's transport network would be operating have, luckily, not justified themselves. All the buses and taxis, including fixed-route ones, in good repair have gone out of their depots.

Life in the city is getting back to normal, with factories, groceries and other shops working.

Work Resumes in Stepanakert

NC2607072388 Baku Domestic Service in Russian
0347 GMT 26 Jul 88

[From the Republican Press Review]

[text] The papers report that on 25 July the workers of all the industrial enterprises, builders, transport workers, and consumer industry workers of Stepanakert reported for duty. In general on 25 July, 78.5 percent of the workers came to work at 15 of the town's largest enterprises. The doors of industrial goods stores and other establishments are open.

Prosecutor's Assistant Discusses Ayrikyan Case

LD2507133188 Moscow Television Service in Russian
0230 GMT 25 Jul 88

[From the "120 Minutes" program, presented by Petr Orlov]

[Text] [Orlov] In its 24 July issue, IZVESTIYA published a report that the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium deprived Paruyr (Asharvirovich) Ayrikyan of Soviet citizenship and expelled him from the USSR for actions discrediting the high title of citizen of the USSR and inflicting damage on the prestige of the Soviet Union. The same issue also contains an article about Ayrikyan's life, with details about his views and statements.

According to materials in the possession of our editorial office, that report unfortunately contained an inaccuracy: Ayrikyan did not have three previous convictions, as stated in IZVESTIYA, but four. But regarding his actions and activities, the IZVESTIYA report agrees fully with what we know. The intention of Ayrikyan and of the group he set up was to struggle for the separation of Armenia from the USSR. Furthermore, the materials confiscated from Ayrikyan accuse—I've noted this down in the same order as he had it—the Russian people, the Communists, the Armenian Communists and the Armenian intelligentsia, the Catholics of all the Armenians, Vazgen, his compatriots living abroad—well, just about everyone up to the European Parliament. These materials were made available to us by Pavel Aleksandrovich Laptev, assistant to the general procurator of the USSR. Here is a recording of a conversation I had with him yesterday.

[Begin recording] [Laptev] Here is one of the quotations from the collections, from the documents taken from Ayrikyan during the preliminary investigation: In 1939-45, Russia sent to the army 800,000 Armenians, of whom 500,000 were killed in Kerch and elsewhere. More than 200,000 were sent home as invalids.

I think all Soviet people—those who fought in the war, those who did not, and those born after—will be unanimous in their assessment of such views. This is an insult to the memory of those outstanding Armenians who gave their lives, of those who returned after the war to work for the good of Armenia and of our Soviet Union. And it's an insult to the memory of those who fought not only in the interests of Russia, if one can put it this way, but also in the interests of the Union as a whole. It is an insult to the memory of Marshal of the Soviet Union Bagramyan and Admiral of the Fleet Isakov. It is an insult to the memory of Air Force Marshal Khudikov. It is an insult to the memory of those who fought in the Taman Rifle Division, under the command of Major General Safaryan. It is an insult to the memory of the Armenians who fought in France and Italy. (Doshtoyan), a remarkable man, became an Italian national hero during the war. The Soviet-Armenian Partisan Regiment fought in France. Who can reproach these men?

[Orlov] I'd like to talk for a moment about another no less important aspect of the affair, the legal aspect. Paruyr Ayrikyan was prosecuted. The prosecution was dropped, by a decision of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and he was expelled from the USSR. Are there any precedents for this? How can we explain to our viewers why this was done? What is the explanation for our Supreme Soviet taking this particular action?

[Laptev] Precedents for expelling a person from the country are of course fairly rare cases, but they are found in international practice. Viewers and readers of IZVESTIYA doubtless remember the case in which Nazi criminal Karl Linas was expelled—deported—from the United States to the Soviet Union, having previously been convicted by a Soviet court of actions of a criminal nature. And it's not only our law that provides for such offences, but, as in the case of Karl Linas, the law of other countries also. Of course you're right: Such cases don't often occur. But here I think one must approach the assessment of the decree of the Supreme Soviet Presidium in this way: It should be seen as a humane act. Readers of IZVESTIYA know that Ayrikyan himself applied to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and almost simultaneously to the visa registration department of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, for the prosecution to be dropped and permission be given for him to leave the country.

[Orlov] In fact, I suppose Ayrikyan has a right to his activities and views, just as we have the right to criticize him. But where's the contradiction with the interests of the state?

[Laptev] To be more precise, more scrupulous as it were, you can say that Ayrikyan's activity did not only consist of circulating untrue and slanderous information. That activity inflicted damage on the interests of the Soviet Union and the interests of the Armenian SSR. Effectively, it bordered on other crimes which are of the nature of state crimes.

[Orlov] So in this case, what it amounts to is that by this decision—to expel Ayrikyan from the USSR—the Supreme Soviet Presidium in effect removed Ayrikyan from responsibility?

[Laptev] It freed him. It did not remove him but freed him from criminal responsibility as an act of clemency. The Supreme Soviet Presidium has the right to exercise clemency in respect to a person who, from the point of view of the Presidium, can be pardoned. And in this specific case I think the decision was, as I've said, humane. On the other hand, it was a balanced decision. Why a balanced decision? Well, let us argue in this way: Ayrikyan had been punished by the criminal law four times, by the court. I think the purpose of criminal punishment in this case is not only to chastise, but also to give the person a chance to reform. In this case that doesn't apply. And so this balanced decision to strip Ayrikyan of his citizenship, to drop his prosecution on nonrehabilitation grounds, and to expel him from the country, was the most reasonable decision in this case. Let me repeat that Ayrikyan requested that the criminal case be dropped and that he be allowed to leave the country. What's more, to be more precise, this was his second application, the second. The first time he was allowed to leave, but seizing the opportunity, he tried to add to his political baggage, as it were, and give himself a bit of extra political weight, if I can put it like that. But I don't think he succeeded, because on no account—and one has to be objective in this matter—can the views of Ayrikyan, his tendencies, his activities, and the activities of the association led by him, be equated with the views of those who have expressed their attitude regarding the removal of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast from Armenia and from the Azerbaijan SSR.

It isn't easy to talk about this, and it gives one no pleasure to have to deal with such cases, but you can't turn away from solving them. You can't give Ayrikyan the full right to trample the interests of the Soviet Union, trample the interests of Armenia, trample the interests of the fraternal peoples of the Soviet Union. It was this that dictated the decision of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. In accordance with the decree, the investigator closed the criminal case, cancelled the custodial sentence and on 21 June, [corrects himself] 21 July of this year, Ayrikyan was expelled from our country. Those are the facts. [end recording]

Problems Facing Armenian Komsomol Described
PM2507113488 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA
PRAVDA Russian 22 Jul 88 p 2

[Our correspondent A. Sarkisyan report under general heading "We Hope and Trust"]

[Text] Yerevan—The materials of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session are being discussed everywhere in Armenia. Clearly time is needed for an objective, well-considered analysis of events. People understand the need for a realistic approach in assessing the decisions adopted.

The past weeks have been difficult for Komsomol workers. They were not always able to enter into trusting contact with young men and women and uphold their own position. It cannot be denied that in a very complex and at times heated situation, some people felt that unequivocal and sometimes extreme forms of action were the only correct forms of action in the struggle to resolve the Nagorno-Karabakh problem. For instance, after the dramatic events at "Zvartnots" Airport, irresponsible calls were made at a rally for people to hand in their Komsomol cards and thereby express their attitude to the actions of the forces of law and order. I asked A. Asryan, first secretary of Leninskiy Komsomol Raykom in Yerevan, to tell me how this action turned out.

"The fact is," Aleksandr said, "that whereas at the beginning of the events Komsomol members and young people showed an understanding of the emergency situation and tried not to give way to their feelings, emotions soon took the upper hand. By giving way to the calls of the so-called 'strike committee' and not working for several days, they did great material damage to the country's economy and moral damage to themselves. This is, of course, partly our fault. We were unable to convince people. During those days some of our collectives showed political maturity by unequivocally condemning the strike as a method of achieving a political goal. As for the tactic of handing in Komsomol cards, we declared unequivocally that people who find it so easy to part with these documents are placing themselves outside the Komsomol. In the primary organizations, six young people handed in their Komsomol cards. Of these, three were expelled from the Komsomol, one took back his card after repenting fully and was severely reprimanded with an entry on his record, and the other two cases will be discussed at a Komsomol committee session."

Readers' Letters Examine Ethnic Issues
PM2507144188 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 24 Jul 88 First Edition p 2

[Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Colonel Prof O. Belkov article: "Our Common Home. A Scientist Reads the Editors' Mail"]

[Text] The fact that problems of interethnic relations are increasingly attracting public opinion in our country is not a sudden or chance phenomenon. For many years, it

was considered that all was running smoothly and well in this sphere in our country. Having proclaimed that a new historic community of people—the Soviet people—had taken shape in the state, we considered the nationalities question solved once and for all, as it were. The unexpected and unpredictable events in Alma-Ata, the Baltic republics, and now in Armenia and Azerbaijan over the question of Nagorno-Karabakh have disrupted the long-standing complacency.

But are they so unexpected and unpredictable? This question is asked by the writers of many letters to the editors, who include people of very different nationalities, veterans of the Great Patriotic War, young servicemen in the reserves, officers, soldiers, workers, kolkhoz members, and students. They express different opinions, but they are all unanimous that the Soviet state's progress can be ensured only in the friendly family of our peoples. "The USSR is our common home," the CPSU Central Committee report at the 19th all-union party conference pointed out. "And we, its masters, must show constant concern for it, look after and improve it, and try to ensure that all the Soviet people living in it feel pride in their socialist homeland."

"The pain caused by the events occurring in Nagorno-Karabakh and Armenia has made me write to the newspaper," Senior Lieutenant V. Melik-Karagoza, secretary of a unit party organization, writes in his letter. "I do not understand how this could have happened. We all live in the same family. And, no, it is not in our traditions to fan strife and drive a wedge into our unity...."

"Servicemen of 23 nationalities serve in our unit. We are all united by the Army, which is called upon to be a genuine school of friendship and international education. And how could it be otherwise! We have come together in the Army family from different places, but we are doing the same thing, defending the same motherland: the USSR."

"I myself was born and grew up in Azerbaijan, in Baku. My father is Armenian, my mother Russian, and my sister married an Azerbaijani. And how many such families there are—thousands." Recalling Afghanistan, where he fulfilled his international duty, Captain R. Mutsayev, an Avar now serving in the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany, testifies: "While being servicemen of different nationalities, we were all representatives of our mighty motherland, and this made us stronger and helped us overcome all adversities." "We are strong only in the friendly family of the peoples," the writers of a collective letter are convinced—Sergeant Asadov, Private Khachatryan, Junior Sergeant Shuraliyev, and other servicemen of an air garrison beyond the Arctic Circle.

Of course, the revolutionary restructuring under way in the country, which is intended to restore the Leninist concept of socialism, cannot fail to affect the sphere of interethnic relations, too. The 19th party conference particularly noted the need, within the framework of

restructuring the political system, to take urgent measures to further develop and strengthen the Soviet federation on the basis of democratic principles. It is a question, above all, of broadening the rights of the union republics and autonomous formations by delimiting the competence of the USSR and the Soviet republics, by decentralizing, by transferring a number of managerial functions to the provinces, and by increasing independence and responsibility in the most important spheres of life. This was reflected in a resolution specially adopted at the conference, which outlines specific measures to resolve interethnic problems. They have been dictated by life itself.

Under the conditions of a multinational state, any decisions—whether it is a question of developing the economy or culture, improving the ecological situation or the moral atmosphere, strengthening socialist law and order, or training and placing cadres—always directly affect the nationalities question. There is a simple parable: When two fishermen divide up a joint catch of fish, they resolve an economic problem. But if these fishermen are of different nationalities, that same division becomes a national problem. But what if it is not fish that have to be divided up but, let us say, capital investments that have to be distributed? Plans for regions' social development that have to be determined? Students who have to compete for admission to VUZ's, or draftees who have to be distributed among the branches and categories of troops? Everything, literally everything in the life of the country acquires a national slant in one way or another and affects and shapes national relations.

This is particularly noticeable now that democracy and self-management are spreading, the processes of internationalization are deepening, and, at the same time, the peoples' national self-awareness is rapidly growing. The socioeconomic aspect and observance of people's true equality are very important in national relations. If this does not exist, there is inevitable suspicion of national discrimination, which with time acquires additional accretions and contradictions. Hence the increasing significance of V.I. Lenin's bequest of sensitivity and circumspection in everything that affects in one way or another the interests of nations and ethnic groups and people's national feelings.

Many readers rightly point out in their letters that the departure from the Leninist principles of the nationalities policy, the violation of legality during the period of the personality cult, and the ideology and psychology of stagnation complicated national relations. Moreover, the problems accumulating in the country's development fanned philistine sentiments and emotions. Egotistic hopes of being able to extricate oneself at the expense of others from the contradictions which had arisen took shape. It is appropriate to recall that F. Engels regarded nationalism as egotism on a large scale.

"...In addition to the socioeconomic aspect, national equality in its truly Leninist concept also has other no less important aspects—political, legal, cultural, and

ethical—which are closely interconnected," Candidate of Historical Sciences V. Gassiyev writes from the city of Tskhinvali. "We are now seeing for ourselves the possible consequences of a lack of consideration for them...." Indeed, the incidents which have aroused bitterness and concern in our society are not, so to speak, the ideologically pure product of some "national spirit." Manifestations of parochialism, trends toward national exclusivity, and sentiments of national arrogance are in many ways the result of violations of social justice in previous years. The ulcers of corruption and favoritism must not be disregarded either. In order to overcome these phenomena, it is important to concentrate efforts on resolving specific political, economic, legal, social, ecological, and other problems which have built up in the country and in individual regions.

Every Soviet person is proud of his own republic's economic, social, and spiritual wealth. And there is nothing reprehensible in this unless, of course, this pride turns into conceit or arrogance and gives rise to national swagger or a disrespectful attitude toward other nations and ethnic groups. But facts of this kind are still encountered. This is in many ways connected—Officer P. Nagornyy, retired, the writer of a letter to the editors, believes—with the fact that people, particularly young people, sometimes do not even know how their peoples achieved such outstanding successes and what role internationalism played in this. There is something here for everyone engaged in educational work to think about. No unprejudiced person can fail to recognize that the aspect of any people of our country is determined not only by its own labor but also by the joint efforts of all the country's nations and ethnic groups.

It is impossible to disagree with those letter writers (Lieutenant Colonel Yu. Golyahev, retired; Lieutenant Colonel B. Akopyan; Seaman B. Safarov, and others) who believe that interethnic friction frequently arises because of obsolete dogmas, prejudices, and certain differences in morals and customs, as well as because of the inability of ideological cadres to work with people by means of persuasion and open debate. In international education, it is necessary to gamble on what unites us and what makes our common home strong and mighty.

The unity of the USSR's peoples is expressed in many ways and is manifested in various fields of social life and in different spheres of activity. These include the consistent division of labor among the republics, the development of their production collaboration, mutual assistance, and cooperation, and the concern of each of the Soviet peoples to ensure that its contribution to improving the country's unified national economic complex accords with the growing material and spiritual potential. They include the expanding interrepublican exchange of worker and specialist cadres and the republics' active participation in the economic opening up of new regions. They include the growth and strengthening of the Soviet people's unified international culture, which absorbs everything of general significance in the achievements and original traditions of

national cultures, serves all working people, and expresses their common interests. They include the further spread of national-Russian bilingualism, which is characterized by the peoples' love for and solicitous attitude toward their mother tongue, the daily need of the masses to master the Russian language as a means of interethnic communication, and the encouragement of the study of the local national language by representatives of other nationalities permanently residing on the territory of a particular republic.

Understandably, these processes do not take place of their own accord. The friendship of the peoples takes shape as the result of a tremendous multitude of constant contacts everywhere and specific actions by specific people of different nationalities.

During the war years Khamid Samatov, who lives in the city of Kattakurgan, Samarkand Oblast, took into his family 13 children evacuated from western parts of the country and set them on their feet. They included Russians and Ukrainians, Belorussians and Jews, and children of other nationalities. In our own time, Private Rakhib Mamedov died rescuing from a flood zone the residents of the Georgian village of Chaladadi. This guy from Azerbaijan saved 28 people and sacrificed his own life. Eight fraternal republics are each constructing their own section of the new city of Slavutich, where power workers will live following the Chernobyl disaster.

Unity and close cooperation among Soviet people of different nationalities, important in all spheres of the life of society, are of special significance for the Armed Forces. Today not only the Army and the Navy as a whole but also each unit, ship, and subunit are multinational in composition. The majority of the letters the editors have received have come from just such military collectives. It is precisely in the Army's formation that the serviceman feels himself particularly strongly a part of the great community called the Soviet people.

The cohesiveness of multinational military collectives is an important factor in successfully resolving combat and political training tasks, strengthening military discipline, and enhancing Army and Navy combat readiness. But much must be done to make this factor operate at full strength.

In implementing the 19th party conference decisions and its instruction that service in the Armed Forces must be a true school of internationalism, commanders, political organs, and party and Komsomol organizations are directing their efforts toward improving work on raising the standard of interethnic relations among personnel and are seeking to overcome instances of national egoism, exclusivity, and isolation in the Army environment. There is no denying that this is a complex matter, and haste here will not bring success. Yet there are many paths leading to stronger friendship and cohesion in military collectives. They are indicated by the 19th party conference resolution "On Interethnic Relations," the

materials of the recent USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session, and the instructions of the USSR minister of defense and the chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate.

The experience of progressive subunits, units, and ships convinces us that the personnel's international education is more effective the more organically it is linked with Army and Navy practice. Making use of political studies and various forms of mass agitation work, it is necessary to foster in servicemen a sense of national equality and fraternity and personal responsibility for the motherland's security, and to explain convincingly the international nature of the homeland's armed defense.

Need it be said that success will not be achieved in this important and crucial matter, unless we eradicate such negative phenomena as lack of consideration for servicemen's national peculiarities and disrespect for the traditions and customs of various peoples, and unless the principle of an equal and uniform attitude toward representatives of different nationalities is basic to the activities of all commanders and political workers without exception? And is it really possible, for example, not to take the national composition of military collectives into account when forming elected party and Komsomol organs and other public organizations?

The complex process of the mutual adaptation and "fitting in" of servicemen of different nationalities is taking place in the Army and Navy environment. And the more multinational the combat collective, the more consideration servicemen are required to give to their actions and the more attention and tact they must display with regard to each other. Naturally, all the more pedagogic skill is demanded of commanders and political workers.

The friendship of the peoples was and still is one of the main foundations of the Soviet state's might and strength. But the mere understanding of this is not enough to assert genuine socialist internationalism in our society. "It is necessary," the 19th party conference resolution emphasizes, "to work to create a public atmosphere in which a person of any nationality feels at home in any part of our socialist motherland."

Armenian Teacher Defends Stand on NKAO
PM2607093188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
23 Jul 88 Second Edition p 6

[Article by teacher Ernest Mnatsakanyan: "We Are Many; The State Is One! A Teacher From Nagorno-Karabakh Addresses His Fellow Countrymen Once Again"—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Nagorno-Karabakh—On 29 May 1988, PRAVDA published a conversation with Ernest Mnatsakanyan, a young communist and a teacher from Nagorno-Karabakh who had come to the editorial office to discuss his concerns. This publication generated a broad response: There was literally a flood of telegrams and telephone

calls from Armenia and Azerbaijan the very next morning. Some agreed with Mnatsakanyan, some praised his courage, while others criticized him and called him a renegade and a traitor.... Just a little while later his name appeared in a quite unexpected context: "Mnatsakanyan has retracted his words. He has gone into hiding but has recorded his repudiation on videotape and demands that it be shown on television or that he will otherwise commit suicide." That ultimatum was issued by a group of people in Yerevan. Now Ernest has addressed the editorial office again.

I did not think that I would have to write in PRAVDA again. However, it has happened that my name has become a subject of speculation on the part of those who would like to continue sowing discord between the Armenian and Azerbaijani peoples.

I should like to say right away that I recorded no videos after my conversation in PRAVDA, and that I did not repudiate the newspaper publication, much less consider "suicide"! This is an utter lie, if not a provocation. Indeed, a television reporter did speak to me in Stepanakert, and I told him about events in Shusha. But that was before my visit to Moscow, not after. I do not renounce any of what I said in Stepanakert. (If anything that conversation was perhaps a little emotional, but that is understandable, for it took place right after the events which I discussed in PRAVDA. The fact is that Armenian friends and mere acquaintances were prevented from going to work.)

But clearly, setting this information aside, I am entitled to my own view concerning the events in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast (NKAO). I took advantage of that right, the right to assess them politically. And PRAVDA published that assessment. So then why is there all the fuss? And who felt the need to label my sincere pain as treachery and falsehood?

It is not easy to read words such as these: "Why does your newspaper publish articles by Armenians who have family ties with Azerbaijanis?" Or: "Mnatsakanyan has cast a vile slur on the Armenian people!" Or: "Mnatsakanyan is a victim of PRAVDA's provocation." And even more scathingly: "The whole Azerbaijani people are perpetrators of genocide!"

What can we smell here? The familiar scent of the times of the cult, when this or that family tie was seen as an absolute evil. It is also reminiscent of racism. Why shouldn't I call things by their proper names? After all, a certain person named N. ventures to call me a traitor and to state in a telegram that I have been "paid a R50,000 bribe...."

Yes, it makes you feel bitter to receive letters like these in response to your sincerity. But that is not the issue now. I repeat: Those who seek to resolve the NKAO problem by futile methods are also the enemies of restructuring and the enemies of our two peoples. That is my position. I shall not renounce it.

In this sense I am increasingly coming to consider the very existence of such concepts as fatherland, state, and motherland....

I am Armenian. Everyone in my family is first-generation Armenian—I am making this point for those who demand a "full accounting of my genealogy." But the point is that my national pride and my pride in belonging to a great multinational state are indivisible. We are many—more than 100 languages are woven into the common Soviet language without forfeiting anyone's identity or vital ties with the history of each people. Yes, we are many, but the state is one! And we have a responsibility to it just as we have to our kindred national community. I am sure that a person who betrays the interests of the state will also betray his people. I repeat: I am sure of that.

That is why I do not sleep at nights, why I am tormented and worry about what is happening in our NKAO. And when I think about this, I increasingly realize that many things would not have happened had it not been for the politically weak leadership of the oblast and the republic that has now "retired." The very formula—"political fighter for the party"—was unjustifiably applied to those who for many years settled the fate of the oblast and its place in the arrangement of the two republics at the present historical stage, and who doomed us to such an agonizing and far-from-harmless search for truth and justice. After all, it must be admitted that the concepts of social justice, party-mindedness, and ordinary honesty were forgotten during the years of stagnation. Instead, corruption, bribery, and bureaucracy flourished. The people of Karabakh seemed to be trapped both ways: On the one hand their national pride was flouted, while on the other there was the heavy hand of a bureaucracy which lived for the present and only for itself.

I am deeply convinced that my fellow countrymen still know this phenomenon—the transformation of the unhealthy and oppressive atmosphere which had for years developed in the oblast into such a mighty explosion. But there was another transformation or, more accurately, a substitution: An injured national sense gave way to a process of a different kind. It began despite the party and government decisions concerning the NKAO—a fermentation in which the role of leavening agent is played by quite different forces. And these are purely nationalistic, antidemocratic forces. Because delivering the kind of economic blow to the state that was provided by the strikes in Azerbaijan—in the NKAO—and Armenia means just one thing: a blow against the process of restructuring and democratization.

I am afraid of this. The predominant interethnic hue which is being attached to these events may color other, no less important "structures." After all, it is no great secret that it would be extremely beneficial to very many of those among the powers that be if events were to continue indefinitely. This is because until this point, their dark deeds and shady dealings, which are related

not to the struggle for national self-awareness but rather to the criminal code, have not come to light. Failing to understand or appreciate that fact is to avoid the truth.

I attentively read the speeches by Comrades Arutyunyan and Vezirov at the 19th party conference, and I am glad that to a large extent their views are identical. However, I find it particularly important that part of their speeches concern the presence at rallies and processions of "corrupt clans." It is surely no coincidence that the two leaders highlighted the same feature. In my view, this is one way to consider the basic causes of what has happened. Of course, here also there must be circumspection. But, I cannot help thinking that even the tragedy of Sumgait and the grief which befell families lies on the conscience of those corrupt, antirestructuring forces.

Here, too, I return to the concept of the "party fighter." I think that his time, the time of the political fighter, has now come, because only fighters are capable of returning life in the NKAO to normal and of reviving its social ties and economic mechanisms. They must be sought out and brought to the forefront, for the underlying factors of events in the NKAO will be felt for a long time to come.

I reread the letters and telegrams. Also, I recall my flight from Moscow following the publication of my interview.... What objections I encountered on the plane from Yerevan to Stepanakert! How difficult were those first meetings on my native soil! At first I was shunned. That is incredibly difficult. And what a great joy it was when I received those first telephone calls from people who anonymously (yes, still anonymously—they were afraid it would become public) expressed solidarity with my thoughts.

I am deeply convinced that more than just one or two of my fellow countrymen think as I do. We are children of the same motherland. And we have no right to subject it to such trials because its strength is our strength.

The motherland is not a cake which can be divided up as people see fit. I still believe this, and my views have not changed. This is despite the fact that I support the radical reconstruction of the national and spiritual atmosphere in the NKAO and the return to the Karabakh Armenians of the spiritual assets which they have lost. But a path into an impasse can only lead to an impasse. So how can it be upheld?

All this month I have read Lenin. Lenin, the guide. One can shout a lot about Lenin's nationalities policy, but first and foremost one must know its principles.

"Marxism cannot be reconciled with nationalism, be it the most 'just,' 'pure,' fine, and civilized form..."

"The proletariat cannot support any consolidation of nationalism—on the contrary, it supports everything which helps to erase national differences... To act differently means to side with reactionary nationalist philistinism."

"...the national composition of the population is among the most important economic factors, but not the only one and not the most important one."

Lenin also writes in quite concrete terms that given centers cannot be separated "from the villages and okrugs which are drawn economically toward them by means of the 'national'" factor. Furthermore, he stresses that this would be... "absurd and impossible." Therefore, "Marxists must not adhere to the 'national-territorial' principle" solely and exclusively.

If you look into it, Lenin 70 years ago passed sentence on the "group of nationalistic petit bourgeois disrupting the proletariat..." Why, then, have we suddenly lost these unequivocal political guidelines? This is a very complex set of questions...

That is why I am unable to sleep at night. This idea runs through my mind incessantly.

I know that my letter will generate new calumny and that the usual label will be pinned on me. But I know another thing too: Those who write that way quite often use others' names for that purpose. At least the authors of the dozen telegrams and letters sent to PRAVDA have disavowed their authorship—"we did not write them." Yet there is an increasing number of letters of a different kind, from people who think like me, from fighters. That is inevitable.

Yet it is not simple or easy as a private individual. Some of my relatives have even had to leave. And I find that, understandably, a heavy burden. I have become alienated from those whom I considered friends. All right, that is no doubt the inevitable price of having one's own views. However, if you are intimidated by this, it is the slippery slope to accommodation. And we know where that has already led.

I want to reiterate that the main thing now is to implement the party and government decisions concerning the NKAO, which are in tune with the present day. The potential of those decisions is considerable. And the true patriot of his people does not have the right to leave that potential unused.

That is what I want to convey to you as I again write to PRAVDA, to which I have been drawn by the need to expose the attempt by a number of people to organize an act of political provocation around my name.

Ukrainian Village Reportedly Closed Off
LD2407154288 Vatican City International Service
in German 1400 GMT 24 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow: The Soviet authorities yesterday closed all access roads to the western Ukrainian village of (Gravivka) after the population asked for permission to celebrate a Catholic service today. A spokesman for the Ukrainian Catholic Church yesterday announced this in

Moscow. The authorities used the reason of safety precautions as an excuse because instances of a fever epidemic had been discovered in the environs of (Gravivka). There was no reply to the believers' application from officials.

Lenin Concept of Party Structure Viewed
PM2107135188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
21 Jul 88 Second Edition p 2

[Interview with L.A. Onikov, CPSU Central Committee Propaganda Department inspector, by unidentified PRAVDA correspondent under the rubric "From the 19th Party Conference Positions": "Toward Lenin's Concept of the Party"; date and place not given—first two paragraphs are PRAVDA introduction; boldface as published]

[Text] Questions concerning the development of democracy in the life of the party itself account for a large proportion of the numerous responses to the work and decisions of the 19th all-union party conference. "Only when genuinely Leninist democratism is achieved in the work of party organs at all levels," according in particular to N. Pokidin from the city of Marganets in Dnepropetrovsk Oblast, "will we be in a position to talk boldly about the success of restructuring and the irreversibility of the renewal process."

Reflecting on the conference material, some letter writers recall the article "Glasnost and Democracy" which was published in PRAVDA's "Pages of History" shortly before the conference opened (19 June), and ask us to continue the conversation which began then. Leon Arshakovich Onikov, CPSU Central Committee Propaganda Department inspector, was one of the authors of that article. At a PRAVDA correspondent's request, he replies to questions prompted by the editorial mailbag.

[Correspondent] Assessing the results of the party conference, the overwhelming majority of letter writers believe that it has become an important landmark along the path toward restoring Lenin's concept of the party and the assertion of intraparty democracy. What is your opinion on this?

[Onikov] The readers are absolutely correct. But the very fact that today we have to tackle the restoration and revival of Lenin's principles of party activity testifies that they were grossly violated in the past. For this reason I would take the liberty of making a brief excursion into history.

Almost immediately after V.I. Lenin's death, Stalin started undermining the principle of glasnost in party work. It can be said that an open break with Lenin's concept of the party occurred at the 17th and 18th All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) Congresses. The first eliminated the amalgamated organs of the Central Control Commission and the People's Commissariat of the Worker and Peasant Inspectorate. The party control organs, independent of the Central Committee

and lower-ranking party committees in Il'ich's lifetime, were made directly subordinate to party committees' executive organs. It was at that time that the principle of collegiality in party leadership was abolished and one-man command was introduced.

The Marxist-Leninist teaching on the socialist state underwent revision at the 18th congress, and Lenin's idea of the people's socialist self-management was virtually rejected. This in turn restricted the main condition for shaping the people's socialist awareness which presupposes their direct participation in the democratic process of management through the acquisition of political experience of their own from the practice of management.

Contrary to Lenin, the center of gravity of educational work was essentially switched entirely to propaganda, agitation, and other spheres of ideological influence. There can be no question that educational work is absolutely impossible without ideological means, but reliance on those means alone was an obvious leaning toward idealism, an expectation that the people's socialist awareness can be shaped through propaganda workers' efforts, books, lectures, studies, and so on. Stalin's "Short Course of the History of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks)" provided the basis of all ideological work.

And so, Lenin's concept of the party was rejected to all intents and purposes. Administrative edict forms of management, put into effect by executive party organs and their full-time apparatus, were established to replace the implementation of party policy through the entire mass of Communists. An appointment system replaced democratic elections to party organs. Strict secrecy replaced broad glasnost, and the party apparatus' omnipotence replaced Communists' social self-motivation. In other words, bureaucratic centralism replaced democratic centralism.

With these facts in mind, we can perceive particularly clearly the importance of the 19th party conference as a decisive step along the path toward restoring Lenin's model of the party and party leadership. What has to be done now is to ensure that the measures envisaged by the conference resolutions are fully implemented, and very swiftly at that, before the 28th CPSU Congress. The upcoming Central Committee plenum will lay down a specific program of action. [Correspondent] Readers' letters seriously criticize the current practice of admission to the CPSU ranks. For example, labor veteran V. Buto from Vilnius believes that its does not help to enhance the party's prestige and could retard the development of intraparty democracy.

[Onikov] It is obvious that the current procedures for admission to the party require decisive revision. Let me remind readers that Lenin's fundamental principle for augmenting the party ranks is primarily concern for the qualitative composition of those joining the CPSU ranks rather than their quantitative growth. Everything was done the other way around during the stagnation years. The party, in

other words the entire mass of Communists, in effect found itself detached from direct monitoring of the qualitative composition of those joining its ranks.

Over the last 20 or so years, anyone who received an application form almost automatically became a party member. The percentage of applicants refused admission to the party at meetings during the stagnation period was the lowest in the entire history of the CPSU (except the war years)—at times even less than 0.5 percent. In other words, general party meetings refused admission to just 1 in every 200 applicants! And the distribution of application forms was done by a very narrow circle of people—collective leaders, party organization secretaries, raykom instructors, and party bureau members. Of course, this work behind closed doors and the almost total absence of proper monitoring by the entire party organization did nothing to preclude abuses, which were at times disgraceful.

The paradoxical effect of the prevailing—let's be blunt—bureaucratic system of admission to the party was that a young sales girl found it much easier to join the party than, say, an experienced VUZ lecturer on CPSU history or a party newspaper staffer. The sales girl would right away "qualify" under the four "precedence" percentage indicators: "Worker" (her profession is classed within this category), "from the Komsomol," "female," "under 30 years of age." As for the experienced lecturer or journalist, his "precedence" is governed by a percentage indicator which is narrower than that applied to workers: office employee, over 30 years of age, not from the Komsomol.

In order to please Brezhnev who, I am certain, had no idea of the nature of the changes taking place in our society's social structure and strove by all means to stress the need to rejuvenate the party, important indicators which Lenin considered especially significant were deleted from party admission documents and statistical returns.

As a result of the "measures" implemented in the mid-sixties, the admission questionnaires no longer defined the composition of workers admitted to the party according to the nature of their occupation and specialized field, which Lenin held to be a fundamentally important indicator of the quality of party recruits. Let me emphasize: For some reason, the interest in this indicator declined only with respect to workers. The length of service indicator showing the new member's social experience—whose importance was also emphasized by Lenin—was also abolished for everyone.

[Correspondent] How could such a thing happen?

[Onikov] The "innovations" introduced in admissions practice during the stagnation years were top secret even for many full-time party officials. Given this lack of glasnost, this concealment of the deformation of Lenin's principles from the party, how can you be surprised by what happened?

In light of what I have said, it is easy to perceive the exceptional importance of the measures outlined in the conference materials to democratize admission to the CPSU and to resolutely abandon "quotas" and bureaucratization of this question, which is of vital importance for the party. Lenin's methodology, as applied to contemporary conditions, enabled the conference to formulate precise criteria for admission to the party—the political stance of the would-be CPSU member and his "real participation in restructuring, his attitude toward the cause, his moral character."

[Correspondent] People at the conference spoke with alarm—and this was noted by our readers—about a certain self-isolation, as it were, of the party committees' apparatus. In this context, to what extent is it topical, in your opinion, to raise the question of developing the voluntary work principle within the party?

[Onikov] It is my profoundly held belief that the de facto exclusion of rank and file Communists from voluntary participation in the activity of party committees' apparatus is a serious retreat from Lenin's concept of the party.

V.I. Lenin proceeded from the premise that the voluntary nature of party work stems from the essence of the party itself as a social organization. "...All party affairs," he believed, "should be conducted, directly or through representatives, by all party members on the basis of equal rights and without any exception whatsoever." Yes indeed, on the basis of equal rights. In Lenin's concept, the difference between full-time (apparatus) and part-time (voluntary) party work lies only in the method used to organize the work; the essence is one and the same.

In the early twenties; for example, one Communist out of every six members of the Moscow city party organization participated directly on a voluntary basis in the work of the party gorkom and raykoms. In Sokolnicheskiy Rayon, for example, there were 30 part-time aktiv members for every 1 full-time official, and 10 of them constantly participated in the committee's work. Some 10 different commissions in Zamoskvoretskiy Rayon were made up of 300 Communists not employed in the apparatus.

[Correspondent] And what is it that prevents a return to Lenin's norm?

[Onikov] It is, alas, the normatives currently in effect that prevent it. Under Lenin there was a precise mechanism for implementing the principles of voluntary work. Public commission members were personally confirmed by party committee bureaus, while the work plans of these commissions and of part-time departments were confirmed by organization-instruction [orginstruktorskii] departments. And they monitored the fulfillment of these plans. In order to cover any eventualities, the bureau would pass a special resolution allowing the Communists thus recruited to use party committee documents, to attend bureau sessions and plenums, to report

back to them, and so on. As we can see, the voluntary principle at that time was based on real rights and thus proved to be extremely fruitful. This is lacking today.

The majority of apparently public commissions now existing under raykoms and gorkoms—like directors' or rectors' councils, organizational party work commissions, and so on—are composed of officials belonging to the nomenklatura of those same party committees, while the commissions work on approximately the same questions as those which are part of the basic work.

Only the radical development of the voluntary work principle and the direct and immediate involvement of a considerable proportion of CPSU members in party life can, in my view, produce high activeness and combat capability among Communists. They will thus be able to judge the party committee's work not as impartial observers but as direct participants and party fighters. Only thus will it be possible to develop Communists' personal opinions and their readiness to fight for these opinions in a committed and selfless fashion. Wherever this is lacking, a proportion of Communists involuntarily "get their revenge" for their nonparticipation by displaying apathy, indifference, and passiveness. It also appears that a painless cutback of the full-time party apparatus would be impossible without a corresponding compensation—an inflow of assistance from the "part-time apparatus" on the voluntary work principle.

The development of voluntary work principles within the party is a key element in instituting socialist self-management by the people. The involvement of 150 million Soviet adults in the democratic process of management must be accompanied by the faster involvement of their vanguard and best organized section—the almost 20 million Communists—in the development of self-motivated party work. The former would be impossible without the latter.

This is why fundamental importance in the course of restoring Lenin's concept of the party attaches to the point in the resolution on democratization which says: "The conference notes that the extent to which Communists are involved in the activity of party committees does not meet the demands of the fundamental restructuring of party work, the development of intraparty democracy, and the institution of socialist self-management by the people."

[Correspondent] The report and speeches by delegates raised the question of the need to radically change attitudes toward elected party organs and to enhance their role. What could you say about this in the light of Lenin's concept of the party?

[Onikov] While Lenin's concept of the party was in operation, a party committee's secretaries, bureau members, and apparatus were totally under the control of the elected party organ. During the twenties the work plans

of bureaus and party apparatus departments were confirmed by elected organs at their plenums. Every plenum heard a report by the bureau on the work it had done, and the bureau was held specifically responsible for any decision on any question made in the period between plenums. Plenums were convened very frequently at that time. There was also a range of questions, especially cadre questions, which could be solved only by plenums and not by the bureaus.

At present a plenum's agenda, the date for holding it, and the main speaker are determined not by a plenum, as in the past, but by the bureaus. All the bureau does at plenums is to inform party committee members in an arbitrary fashion (there are no standard requirements) about the work it has done. And the work plans of party committee bureaus and departments are also approved by the bureau rather than by plenums. The monitoring of their fulfillment is also up to the bureau and the apparatus. This is essentially self-monitoring, which is totally incompatible with Lenin's concept of the party.

In order to ensure that an elective organ's authority is genuine rather than just formal, its members must be given broad and real powers; to put it bluntly, collegiality is meaningless without this. I am sure that PRAVDA's readers and all party members welcomed with much gratification the following provision in the resolution "On Glasnost": "The conference deems it necessary to bring existing instructions and regulations governing the work of party committees and organizations into line with the demands of the democratization of party life. Provision must be made giving members of elected party organs free access to sessions of their subordinate party committee bureau, including the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, and the right to use documents, information, and data at the disposal of the party committee and its apparatus."

[Correspondent] There was talk at the conference about the possibility of having CPSU Central Committee commissions on the most important issues of domestic and foreign policy, which would be regularly staffed by Central Committee members. L. Petukhov from Vladimir wants to know whether similar commissions at such high level have existed in the past?

[Onikov] Looking at gorkom and raykom level, different types of commissions were indeed the basic form of involving rank and file Communists in voluntary party work in the twenties. This applied equally to members of elected leadership organs—obkoms, kraykoms, and all the way up to the Central Committee. The Central Committee had numerous commissions under the Politburo, the Organizational Bureau, and the Secretariat. The Politburo alone, for example, had more than 90 commissions working under it in 1927, more than 70 in 1928, and more than 110 in 1929, covering in detail a very broad range of questions. There was an approximately equal number of commissions under the Organizational Bureau and the Secretariat. As a rule, the

Politburo commissions were headed by Politburo members, Central Committee secretaries, and Central Committee members. What work did these commissions do? I will cite the titles of just two of them as an example: "Commission on Examination of Mutual Relations Between Union and Republic People's Commissariats," and "Commission on Preparing the Question of Forms of Internal Party Leadership and Ensuring Collegiality and Intraparty Democracy."

The figures I have cited appear unbelievable in the conditions of apparatus absolutism, which is still sanctified by normative documentation from the Stalin years.

As the personality cult became more firmly established, voluntary work principles were curtailed and the number of commissions declined. There were 89 commissions operating under the Politburo in 1935, 36 in 1936, and not a single one in 1937.

[Correspondent] And one last question. Some letters express anxiety about the fate of the conference decisions. Are they likely to remain just on paper?

[Onikov] In his speech at the closing of the conference M.S. Gorbachev said that its decisions must under no circumstances be doomed to the fate which befell the CPSU Central Committee January (1987) Plenum decisions. "...We did not work out a mechanism for implementing the plenum decisions," he said. "They were somehow left 'hanging in the air,' and matters did not progress as we had expected." In order to prevent such a thing happening in the future, the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee noted, after the conference it will be necessary to get down to finally completing the work on dismantling the braking mechanism.

It was noted at the conference that we cannot resolve the tasks of restructuring by resorting to the old methods. This means that we will not manage to solve then by means of only new words and new slogans. A new mechanism for implementation is necessary. Very briefly speaking, here is how I imagine it.

It is necessary to rework, as soon as possible but naturally without haste, the current internal party instructions, regulations, provisions, and so on in order to discard norms which retard restructuring and to introduce new ones, the need for which is dictated by life. Moreover, it is absolutely necessary to set precise time limits within which to complete the reworking of existing normative documentation or the creation of new documentation ensuring the further restoration of Lenin's concept of the party. Otherwise the braking mechanism will again come into effect and will delay the implementation of some very correct decisions, as has already happened on many occasions in the past. There is also something else. In my view, it would be necessary to brief at least the party aktiv in advance of any draft new normative documents regulating internal party life.

Letter Labels Stalin 'Tyrant,' 'Hypocrite'
PM2207135088 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English
No 29, 17 Jul 88 p 2

["Letter to the Editor" from Tamara Motylyeva: "Stalinism Was Not Imported"]

[Text] I was probably not the only one interested in the exchanged of opinions between I. Shafarevich and R. Medvedev on the nature of Stalinism (MN No 24). I'd like to add to Medvedev's argument a particular but important question.

The Stalin personality cult was not an international phenomenon, neither was it imported. If in the West major figures in culture did not protest against this cult and, in some cases, even gave their support to it, then there were reasons for this. Above all, this was the result of the widespread illusion, shaped through history, about the inseparable connection between Stalinism and socialism. If to this day quite a few Soviet people still cannot divide these concepts, then it becomes even more obvious that the Western intelligentsia harboured erroneous ideas 50-40 years ago. It was thought that damaging Stalin meant damaging socialism.

The "besieged fortress" ideology, about which Roy Medvedev writes, was also very vital and its roots go back to before World War II. More sagacious minds in the West by and by arrived at the conclusion that the revolutionary cause had fallen into unworthy hands. Thomas Mann, in particular, wrote in his diary on November 23, 1941: "We could accept with sympathy the new, to a certain extent, communist world, in the way it was outlined at first. But the carrying out of its cause got into the hands of such scoundrels!" It is clear that it was more than awkward to publish such a statement at a time when Nazi troops were near Moscow. In his speeches on the radio Thomas Mann highly appreciated the heroism of the Soviet people in the Patriotic War.

Before the war, even the most staunch supporters of the USSR developed a critical approach to Stalin's policy. This was especially true of Romain Rolland. But here is what he notes in his diary: "A regime of absolute, uncontrolled arbitrariness got established there without a shadow of a guarantee of the most elementary freedoms.... I squash my need to speak and to write about this.... I couldn't express even the smallest criticism of this regime without the mad enemies in France and all over the world using my words as poisoned weapons with the most criminal aims."

Lion Feuchtwanger's book *Moscow 1937* is, of course, radically erroneous. His apologetic view of Stalin cannot be justified by anything. But it is explainable historically: The German anti-fascists regarded the USSR as the only force capable of crushing Hitler. However, it is important that skeptical motives do creep into the descriptions of the trials Feuchtwanger attended, whether the author wished it or not. He states directly that the court was given only

the prepared material of the preliminary investigation, that the defendants' concluding speeches were like each other almost word for word, and that this made "a nearly horrible, comic impression". He also says that the trial of Zinovyev, Kameney and others produced a very harmful impression abroad—"it put the long-awaited material for propaganda into the hands of the enemies".

Stalin was not only a tyrant, but a hypocrite, too. He spoke to foreign visitors in a well-wishing tone. But the curious thing is that H.G. Wells, one of the major writers who talked with him, came out of the conversation with the most negative impressions. Stefan Zweig wrote: "Recently I met with Wells who had come from Russia, very pleased with economic successes, but disillusioned with the sense of freedom. He, an old, obstinate advocate of freedom, tried to do all he could, talked for a long time with Stalin and others. But the result was equal to zero."

Even from these examples we can see that the approach to Stalinism on the part of Western cultural figures was quite different. It is useful to remember the lines from Bertolt Brecht's article "On Criticism of Stalin" (1956): "Assessment of Stalin from the angle of history calls for work by historians. The liquidation of Stalinism can happen only in conditions of a gigantic mobilization of the masses' wisdom by the Party forces." I'd add to this: by the forces of non-Party members, too.

Combining of Party, Soviet Posts Examined
PM2207123588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
22 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 3

[Article by Doctor of Juridical Sciences B. Kurashvili, leading staffer at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of State and Law, under the rubric "19th Party Conference: Reflections on the Decisions": "Secretary and Chairman in One Person. Paradox of Combining Posts To Separate Functions"—boldface as published]

[Text] One of the unexpected ideas advanced in M.S. Gorbachev's report at the 19th all-union party conference was that of combining the posts of party committee first secretary from rayon level on up, right up to the Central Committee, and head of the corresponding Soviet of People's Deputies. Some people supported it, while others had doubts. Scientists too differed in their assessments. Many people see here not democratization but a strengthening of authoritarianism. In reality the situation is more complex. In order to assess the real significance of this proposal, we must examine it in the context of all the planned changes.

Three Organizational Factors [subhead]

The reinstatement of the sovereignty of soviets at various levels is becoming a key element of the reconstruction of the whole system of power. The second key element of the reform—the ending of direct party management of economic and sociocultural activity and the "departure" of the party and its organs back to their own sphere of ideological and

political work and the elaboration of strategic problems and political control over their resolution—is inseparably linked with the soviets' real sovereignty.

We had a long period of declarations and invocations with regard to "increasing the party's leading role." However, they were accompanied by a virtual drop in its prestige, by social processes' getting out of control, and by stagnation. Now, at last, cooperation is being created between the party and the soviets, thanks to which there will really be an increase both in the role of the party—in the form of strengthening its political influence on social relations—and in the role of the soviets—in the form of enhancing the efficiency of state management of social activity as a self-governing process.

Soviet society, which is being renewed in the font of restructuring, will acquire—this, at any rate, is its ardent hope—an efficient, harmonious political system within whose framework three organizational factors are differentiated and integrated—party political influence, authoritative-democratic state management, and social self-management in all its forms (production, local, self-management of public organizations). Only such a system will be capable of leading socialism into a new round of development. This is the more or less clearly realized profound essence of the changes proclaimed by the conference.

The regime of state power, the political regime takes shape in each historical epoch, in each period of the socialist state's development as a combination of two polar characteristics adapted to specific conditions—positively understood authoritarianism (one-sided imperiousness, subordination, discipline) and democratism (equality, freedom, self-management). We are now accomplishing a far-reaching shift from the first pole to the second. Only this does not mean abolishing authoritarianism (such a thing is quite impossible and is a path to anarchy and the disorganization of social life) but transforming it. The combining of posts and the emergence of the figure of the "secretary-chairman" (let us for the time being give this provisional name to the future post of soviet chairman) cannot be properly understood unless we take into account such fundamental changes to the system of power as: a) strengthening the soviets' popular nature and ending the practice of electing to them leaders of the management apparatus ("soviets without dignitaries" but, of course, with Communists); b) switching soviets to permanent functioning, with the deputies' full or partial release from their production work ("the soviets are real working corporations"); c) creating soviet presidiums at both rayon and oblast level and, thus, freeing them from the tutelage of executive organs; d) abruptly strengthening the soviets' monitoring functions with the transfer of people's control committees to their direct management; e) broadening the rights of republic and local soviets and the ultimate establishment of their "normal power."

In conjunction with these changes the innovation under consideration certainly does not appear as it would if it were introduced into the system of power which exists now.

The Benefit and Inevitability of Combined Office [subhead]

We have before us a typical paradoxical solution. Reason opposes and cannot at once understand and grasp what is planned. It is indeed necessary to delimit the functions of the party and the soviets, but what is proposed is an official union, a combining of the leadership of the party and the soviets in the same hands. Absurd? When I took to *KOMMUNIST* my article containing a similar proposal (it was published in No 8 for 1988), the journal's editors—really qualified people—did not at once understand and demanded an explanation. In involved situations it is precisely paradoxical solutions that frequently prove to be the only way out. This is being realized only gradually. This innovation was adopted equivocally at the conference, where much attention was devoted to this question. Many people still cast doubt on it. Therefore an investigation, an analysis, is needed.

The point of combining the said posts is to ensure in the organizational respect both the strengthening of the soviets' role and an end to direct party management of social life and to party organs' doubling for the state and economic apparatus. And this is not done at the price of diminishing the role of party leadership.

The procedure for electing the first party leader or the leader of the ruling party or its organization to the post of soviet chairman will provide a clear idea of the party's real influence among the people and of the real prestige of particular party leaders. It is very useful to have this idea, for our party serves the people, works for the people, and must verify both its own prestige and that of its cadres precisely by the people's assessment.

It will evidently be necessary to establish the rule that, on nominating a single candidate for the post of soviet chairman, he is considered elected if at least two-thirds or even three-fourths of those who participated in the election voted for him. The following approach is not ruled out either: Two or three party committee members are nominated as candidates for this post, but the one who receives the majority of the votes becomes both soviet chairman and party committee first secretary.

The party leader will, as it were, be taken out of the apparatus environment and placed in another one—the people's environment, the deputy's environment. For a political leader this is pure mountain air that refreshes the consciousness.

In resolving specific questions of management the substantial "secretary-chairman" will not tackle them along party lines because there are more opportunities along soviet lines—the legitimate authoritative powers above all. Accordingly, the corpulent party apparatus will become slim and trim while the emaciated soviet apparatus will put on weight, and both will arrive at the norm. The "secretary-chairman" will not have the self-seeking interest of certain present secretaries in upholding and demonstrating "the party's leading role" in its

present form, and he will be led not by ambitions close to departmental ones but by the interests of the matter. The combining of posts will make it possible to realize the principle "everyone does his own thing" most directly at apparatus level.

A fundamentally new, more democratic and, at the same time, reliable form of exercising state power is being created. The fact that the soviets will be headed by "first persons" in the political system will bring the soviets' formal and real powers into line. These collective organs will not be obedient tools in the hands of the "first persons" if the role of the soviets and their deputies is really raised and if the people elect really competent and scrupulous persons as their representatives on the soviet. Persons you cannot order about—and if you do try to order them about you will get your fingers burned.

I believe it will be possible to introduce a mechanism of a "delaying veto" imposed by the soviet head on its decisions. This mechanism will evidently be needed, taking into account the upcoming real process of democratization. No collective organ is insured against enthusiasms, extremes, and mistakes. This mechanism will overcome them on a democratic basis.

Party committee first secretaries, who play a key role in the political system at every level of management, are not deprived of this role when direct party management ceases. They gain an opportunity, given the population's trust in them (and in no way can it be otherwise!), to occupy a key place in the state system. Thus, official union is the only real means of transferring power from a party to a state basis. And those who speak of restructuring as a "social revolution" with its basic question—that of power—are not quite divorced from reality.

Not To Cross the Line [subhead]

The chief thing is that the modifying of power should be irreproachably democratic. And this is how it is planned. All is good, but we must think very strongly about the process of this modification and about all its complexities. It is a question, let us say, of the figure of the soviet chairman. Not the leader of the soviet presidium but of the soviet as a whole. Leadership of the presidium's work is just an additional duty of his. So the soviet gets two leaders, as it were—the one-man chairman and the collective presidium.

Will it not happen here that the soviet presidium as a plenipotentiary collective organ will take a back seat? The functions and, thus, the powers of the soviet chairman—at any rate in the context of resolutions already adopted and the views expressed—appear wider and more considerable than the presidium's functions. The latter, according to the report, is entrusted just with convening sessions and coordinating the standing commissions' activity. And the same at union level. But the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet must "exercise overall leadership of the preparation of laws and major socioeconomic programs,

decide (precisely decide, not prepare decisions or organize their elaboration—B.K.) key questions of foreign policy, of the country's defense capability and security...." We must be very attentive here in order not to encroach upon the soviets' collectivist essence. For no subsystem of power in our country, except for the administrative one, knows of such wide powers for a one-man leader as are planned for the soviet chairman. We cannot allow a situation, even theoretically, in which relations typical of a ministry, where the minister decides things off his own bat while the collegium has mere consultative rights, could take shape in the soviets.

Elementary democratic feeling protests against any organizational enactment which permits even a hint of the idea that soviets and deputies can be subordinate to any one person and that someone can order them about. Soviet deputies obey only socialist law (as the normative expression of social justice) and the rightful law. They are guided by their civic conscience, by the voters' interests and mandates, and in no way by instructions from the leadership [nachalstvo], whatever it calls itself. The introduction of the post of soviet chairman with wide powers must be very precisely correlated with the very nature of the soviets.

Only such an approach can make the institution of combined office democratic and acceptable. Otherwise it could be an expression not of the democratization of the system of power but of the opposite process, and will be a means of strengthening authoritarianism and infringing the democratism of power and the straightest path toward its new bureaucratization. The party, the public, and the USSR Supreme Soviet, which will make amendments to the USSR Constitution, still have time to ponder and analyze these and other similar questions. I hope to discuss some of them in my next article in *IZVESTIYA*.

Disgraced Officials Describe Corruption

PM1807090188 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY
in Russian No 28, 9-15 Jul 88 (Signed to Press 7 Jul 88)
pp 6, 7

[N. Maydanskaya "Reportage From the USSR MVD Special Investigations Prison": "Yesterday's Men Confess"—first two paragraphs are ARGUMENTY I FAKTY introduction; boldface as published]

[Text] Last April the USSR Prosecutor's Office organized an exhibition. It "displayed" the millions dishonestly accumulated by some of Uzbekistan's leaders. But journalists went there not only to look at the heaps of gold coins and multicolored bills, but also in the hope of a serious and detailed conversation about what actually happened in the republic. How come the bribery, corruption, protectionism, and embezzlement which were recently exposed in Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenia,

the Transcaucasus, the Ukraine, and Moscow were so hypertrophied in Uzbekistan and essentially became norms of life? And what must be done to prevent the recurrence of such things?

Alas, no answer was forthcoming to the questions which were asked on that occasion. The ARGUMENTY I FAKTY editorial office requested an opportunity to talk with former senior officials from Uzbekistan against whom criminal proceedings have now been taken, because who can describe the illegalities which were committed better than those who actually committed them?

FOR THE RECORD. Saltaamurat Karbanlyazovich Kanyazov. Worked as a teacher. Later worked on the oblast youth newspaper as a photographer, then literary staffer, and then desk chief. Joined the party. Advanced from secretary of the Maynaskiy Komsomol Raykom to secretary of the Kara-Kalpak Komsomol Obkom, chairman of the Shumanayskiy Rayispolkom, sovkhos director, and first secretary of the Karauzyakskiy Raykom from December 1975 to 1985. For the final 2 years before his arrest he was first secretary of the Takhtakuyrskiy Raykom.

[Kanyazov] It was decided that Karauzyakskiy Rayon, where I was posted as first secretary, should switch to rice growing and increase the rice harvest to 100,000 tonnes—a task that was unrealistic from the very beginning since rice cultivation needs water and the Aral Sea was receding. Every day the wind would pick up tonnes of salt, and the salt would fall and settle on the ground like snow. Gardens were being destroyed, the soil was being destroyed....

The year 1982 was one of the driest years ever for the Kara-Kalpak ASSR and Khorezm Oblast. Instead of the 110,000 cubic meters of water we needed, we were allocated...3,000! Then the republic minister of land reclamation and water resources arrived in the rayon, saw the dying rice paddies, and started cursing: Why aren't you using water from the agricultural drainage system [kollektornaya voda] for irrigation? But that water could not be used, it contained so much salt that it would not only destroy the shoots but would even ruin the soil for ever. No, he said, you use it for irrigation—and that's that. I refused. The second secretary of the republic Communist Party Central Committee arrived. He counted the number of grains per ear, the result was 50. He asked: How many must there be in order to fulfill the plan? I answered: Between 150 and 200. Then the conversation went on something like this: "How much must you deliver to the state this year?" "Some 48,000 tonnes." "And how much will you actually deliver?" "According to experts' calculations, 18,000-19,000, not more than that, and this includes seed grain." "Windbag! Disorganizer! We'll convene a bureau session right away, we'll expel you from the party, we'll fire you...."

I wish they had put me inside for deception back then, I would have been out and back home long ago. But as things are.... We got used to fulfilling plans in all sorts of

fraudulent ways. After all, nobody was interested in the real situation, it was nothing but "give, give." The situation reached the point of total absurdity: Egg delivery plans were assigned to farms which had no hens. The prime cost per egg reached several rubles! Talk about "golden eggs"!

Leaders of farms and rayons which had failed to bring in even one-half of their harvest announced plan fulfillment from high rostrums. It was impossible not to notice the overreporting, because the figures themselves indicated it: Fiber output was steadily falling. We were delivering 6 million tonnes of cotton, but there were neither towels nor sheets to be found in the stores.... And what about all the empty railroad cars arriving at combines?

There were no roads in the rayon, no vehicle could get through. There was just one public bath for 30,000 residents, and even that one kept breaking down. Schools were operating four shifts, and no new ones were planned before 1990. No hospital was due before the end of the century. For several months we had no proper drinking water, just poison. Have you heard of rampant typhoid in any other republic? It was a routine phenomenon in ours....

Money was needed to accelerate the solution of these questions. A lot of money, in fact, since everything had to be paid for in cash. Taking money from below and passing it upwards became a daily occurrence.

And to whom could I complain? Obkom First Secretary Kamilov? He was in exactly the same situation. Rashidov? Everyone realized that he was the one who issued the orders. During his many years as first secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee he became a kind of idol. He was extolled as much as possible at meetings, plenums, and congresses. That was why, at that time, even the most insignificant reprimand from him to a leader of any rank could have meant dismissal from office and punishment along party lines. And even expulsion from the party.

Rashidov once came to visit the rayon. He started talking about an airstrip. We needed it; after all if people wanted to fly somewhere they had to travel the 100 km to Nukus. Of course I was pleased. He telephoned the republic minister of highways in my presence and gave instructions to start planning and to include the project in the construction plan. Later, after supper, he said: "You'll get your airstrip. As long as you understand, Kanyazov, that this is not so easily done. Now I have to telephone Moscow, to ask...." Since the republic leaders were not squeamish about gifts and bribes, raykom secretaries willy-nilly had to accept this as a "normal phenomenon." And how could I have not taken bribes from my subordinates since the rayon was visited by one commission after another from the start of the sowing campaign until the end of harvesting! The plenipotentiaries did not pay either their hotel checks or for their air tickets and food, while bribes were a matter of course....

After Rashidov's death many people hoped that there would be an end to overreporting and bribery. But this did not happen. The new leadership that came to power pursued the same course. When it became impossible to conceal all this, for the sake of their own prosperity they sacrificed thousands of Communists—farm leaders who were put behind bars for obeying their commands.

It was no longer possible to keep silent. Earlier I was afraid of Rashidov and his ties with Brezhnev. I realized: Open your mouth and there will be nothing left of you.... In March 1987 I plucked up courage. I asked for leave to travel to the Moscow region, and telephoned the Central Committee to speak to the person dealing with our republic. He received me the next day. I spent 3 hours telling him about the outrages that still went on in the republic. He heard me out and said: We'll look into it.

But everything remained as before....

I am not claiming to be blameless, I will face the court and am ready to take the punishment. But in order to ensure that our children do not become criminals, I want to answer for the tragedy in the republic together with the organizers of this tragedy. The bribery system would never have reached such proportions had it not been directed and backed by leaders of the republic Communist Party Central Committee and high ranking persons at all-union level.

People at local level again tried to present the Kanyazov case as "an isolated negative phenomenon." The USSR Prosecutor's Office intervened....

The raykom secretary represents the middle link in the chain of official crimes which were rampant in the republic. But you must agree that a lot can be seen even from his "vantage point." What happens if we climb higher up the rungs of the hierarchical ladder?

FOR THE RECORD. Mirzamakhmud Mirzarakhmanovich Muzakhanov. Graduated from the Moscow Textile Institute in 1937. Worked in factories in Serpukhov, Fergana, and Tashkent in the following capacities: Foreman, shift engineer, shop chief, production unit chief, chief engineer, director of the Tashkent Textile Combine. Later he was Uzbek minister of light industry, and from 1953 administrator of affairs of the republic Council of Ministers. At various times he held the offices of chairman of the republic Gosplan, chairman of the Uzbek Republican Trade Union Council, AUCCTU secretary, secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee, and first deputy chairman of the republic Council of Ministers. Between 1970 and 1985 he was first secretary of the Tashkent Obkom. He was a member of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Supreme Soviet deputy. And a Hero of Socialist Labor.

[Musakhanov] What marked the beginning of the republic's moral decomposition? The slogan: "Deliver 6 million tonnes of cotton!" A slogan that was nothing but hot air, but created unquestionable prestige for the republic leadership at the time, headed by Rashidov.

A multiplicity of questions had to be resolved in order to really increase cotton production. But not a single one of these questions—crop rotation, without which agriculture cannot develop normally, irrigation and land reclamation, which play a considerable role in irrigated crop farming, of mechanization, without which productivity growth is altogether unimaginable—not a single one of these questions was resolved. But since the task had been set it had to be accomplished. By any means. Schoolchildren and students were mobilized for harvesting. Apart from the fact that this damaged their health, the students were not acquiring the necessary volume of knowledge and could not catch up later on. It became increasingly difficult to move from grade to grade or from course to course or to gain admission to a VUZ. This paved the way for bribe-takers: They collected for marks, for credits, for diplomas.... How can you talk about the quality of specialist training!

But even universal mobilization could no longer salvage the situation. There was less and less cotton in the fields yet the plenipotentiaries—members of the Central Committee Bureau or the Uzbek Council of Ministers Presidium—continued to push for "growth" of harvesting and procurement percentages. Moreover, when touring the fields they saw for themselves that there was no cotton to be had, but nevertheless they eagerly accepted the reports of victory. What did we do? As far as we were concerned, Rashidov's word was law, since he had Brezhnev, the general secretary, behind him.

In these circumstances it was impossible to get anything done without a "helping hand" from higher up, and in order to benefit from it you had to "grease its palm."

Now I am talking about bribery mainly in the production sphere, which resulted in national economic damage running into many millions of rubles. But bribery pervaded literally all spheres. You could not buy an air or rail ticket without a "surcharge," and additional "contributions" were needed to buy something from a store or to get admitted in a hospital or polyclinic....

All this became an unbearable burden for ordinary citizens. And this damage—to the prestige of Soviet power—cannot be measured in rubles. That was why people strove to get a job which provided all sorts of privileges. And that, in turn, was also done either through nepotism or through bribery. As soon as someone got such a job, he would do everything possible to consolidate his position. He didn't feel like criticizing the leadership. But how are shortcomings to be revealed if there is no criticism?

Criticism was simply unimaginable under Rashidov. Then he died and the republic leadership underwent renewal. But there were no changes for the better. And how could there have been any changes when those who came to power were people who had worked together with Rashidov, committed illegalities together with him, and adopted his style and methods of management. The new leadership, aware that all our victories had started with the fictitious 6 million tonnes of cotton never existed and could not have existed, demanded new records. And it "achieved" them. The year of Rashidov's death—1983—was set a record for overreporting.

At the 21st Uzbek Communist Party Congress the republic leadership blamed all negative phenomena on Rashidov, declaring that everyone had fallen victim to Rashidov's "hypnosis."

But the "hypnosis" was not about to wear off. That "paper" thesis about the 6 million tonnes of raw cotton was repeated at the 27th CPSU Congress in an attempt to mislead the party....

For many years I was involved in these crimes and I am not trying to make excuses for myself. But surely an equal responsibility lies with those leaders of republic and central ministries and departments, members of the republic Communist Party Central Committee, and officials from the relevant CPSU Central Committee departments who were responsible for the republic and the oblast and who should have perceived and known all this?

FOR THE RECORD. The USSR Prosecutor's Office has instituted criminal proceedings against a number of [former] leaders of economic and administrative organs and party gorkom and raykom first secretaries, six [former] obkom first secretaries, four [former] secretaries of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee, a [former] chairman of the Council of Ministers, and a [former] deputy chairman of the republic Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Economic

Goskomstat Report on Jan-Jun Plan Fulfillment
PM2507111588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
24 Jul 88 Second Edition pp 1-3

[USSR State Committee for Statistics report: "Improving the Economy Faster. On the USSR's Economic and Social Development in the First 6 Months of 1988"—boldface as published]

[Text] I. General Economic Indicators [section subhead]

Positive trends in economic and social development continued to grow during the first 6 months of 1988. The preparations for the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference gave an additional boost to this process.

The transfer of a sizeable proportion of enterprises in industry and other sectors of the national economy to full economic accountability and self-financing began producing a positive effect on end results and quality indicators.

The decline of the growth rate of social production is being overcome, while an acceleration has been achieved in terms of several of the most important indicators. Compared with the first 6 months of last year, national income increased 5 percent and social labor productivity increased 5.5 percent. Foreign trade turnover resumed its growth.

There was an increase in the level of performance of contract commitments for deliveries of industrial output; total industrial output produced was R20 billion more than in January-June 1987. There was an increase in the commissioning of fixed capital, mainly due to assets funded by enterprises and organizations. The national economy received more than R8 billion of above-plan profits.

The social orientation of the economy's development is being stepped up. Consumer goods production increased at a faster pace. There is a steady trend toward growth of

output and purchases of stockraising products. The retail trade turnover and paid services plan was fulfilled. The scale of housing construction increased.

At the same time the existing shortcomings in a number of national economic complexes and sectors are being eliminated only slowly, the advantages of the new economic management mechanism are not being fully utilized, and a stable and steady work pace is not being insured. The rate of acceleration of scientific and technical progress and renewal of fixed capital is inadequate. Deliveries discipline is still poor, and this produces disruptions in the normal work pace of labor collectives. Many industrial and construction enterprises allowed wages funds to grow at a faster rate than labor productivity. The financial position of a considerable proportion of enterprises and organizations remains unstable. Difficulties persist in meeting the population's demands for a number of foodstuffs, nonfood goods, and paid services. The 6-month plan for the construction of a number of social and cultural projects was not fulfilled.

The basic indicators of the country's economic and social development in the first 6 months of 1988 are characterized by the following figures (growth in percentages):

	For Comparison:	
	1st 6 months of 1988 against actual level in 1st 6 months of 1987	1987 against actual level in 1st 6 months of 1986
Produced national income	5	2.4
Total industrial output	4.7	3.5
of which:		
production of means of production		
production of articles for consumption	4	3.4
Commissioning funded by state centralized capital investments and by resources from enterprises' and organizations' funds:	6	3.6
fixed capital		
housing	2	6
State capital investments centralized and funded by resources from enterprises' and organizations' funds	2	15
	6	6
Freight shipments (consignments) by all types of transportation for general use	2.8	0.8
Passenger turnover on all types of transportation for general use	4	3
Labor productivity:		
in industry	5.4	3.6
in construction industry	7.9	4.4
in railroad transport	7.2	6.3
Number of workers and employees	-0.3	0.3
Wages fund in the national economy	5.5	3.4
Average money wage of workers and employees	5.7	3.2
Remuneration of kolkhoz members	5	2
Payments and benefits to the population from social consumption funds	5.2	5.3
Retail trade turnover in state and cooperative trade (in actual prices)	6.4	2.2
Paid services to the population	17	10
Foreign trade turnover (in actual prices)	5	-4.3
Profit in the national economy (January-May)	11	4.4

II. Intensification of Social Production [section subhead]

Scientific and technical progress. There was an increase in the volumes of retooling and reconstruction in production. The amount applied for these purposes was R17.5 billion, this being 6 percent more than in the corresponding period of last year, and the enterprises' and organizations' own resources accounted for 73 percent of the total volume of capital investments.

There was an improvement in the technical-economic indicators of a number of production units.

The utilization of advanced technologies increased in the fuel and energy complex. Compared with January-June 1987, there was a 15-percent increase in oil extraction using modern methods to improve oil yields. Electricity generation by AES's accounted for 13.1 percent of the total amount of electricity generated, against 11.4 percent in the same period of last year.

The metallurgy complex increased the manufacture of economic types of output, including a 2-percent increase in heat-treated reinforced rolled metal products, a 3-percent increase in low-alloy rolled metal products, a 17-percent increase in high-impact compression pipes, and a 180-percent increase in high-impact drilling pipes. The proportion of oxygen converter steel and electric steel in the total steel output increased from 46.8 percent to 47.4 percent in the first 6 months of 1988.

The proportion of output assimilated for the first time in the USSR at enterprises under the ministries of the machine building complex amounted to 8.8 percent (against a planned 9.2 percent for the year) compared with 4.4 percent in January-June 1987.

The manufacture of new standardized belt conveyers, asynchronous electric motors, specialized lift trucks, and bearings was assimilated.

The following were commissioned: a total of 7 flexible production systems, 37 rotary and rotary conveyer lines, 1,800 metal-cutting machine tools with digital program control, 16 laser technology installations, and 46 installations for advanced welding methods.

The proportion of synthetic fibers and yarns in the total volume of chemical fibers and yarns produced by the chemical and timber industry complex reached 61.5 percent (against 59.8 percent in the first 6 months of 1987). There was an increase in the proportion of lightweight newsprint, and the manufacture of such newsprint accounts for more than 60 percent. This made it possible to save 0.7 million cubic meters of wood pulp.

Spring grain and pulse crops cultivated on kolkhozes and sovkhozes using intensive technologies occupy 23.2 million hectares (28 percent of the area sown to these crops), sugar beet (industrial) occupies 3 million hectares (88 percent), and sunflowers occupy 2.5 million hectares (59 percent).

The application of progressive types of work increased in the construction industry complex. The proportion of construction work using large components, units, panels, and blocks with fully prefabricated bearing and surrounding structures amounted to 41 percent of the total volume of construction and installation work.

The proportion of clinker cement produced using the "dry" method amounted to 17.1 percent of total cement production in the first 6 months compared with 15.8 percent in the corresponding period last year.

General-purpose transportation is slow in implementing the introduction of advanced technological means. The proportion of electric traction in the total railroad transport freight turnover increased by 0.9 points to reach 63.1 percent.

State orders for 1988 for the delivery of the most important types of new output were fulfilled by 25 percent, with 14-percent fulfillment by enterprises under the USSR Ministry of Chemical and Petroleum Machine Building, 16 percent by enterprises under the USSR Ministry of Heavy and Transport Machine Building, and 19 percent by enterprises under the USSR Ministry of the Production of Mineral Fertilizers. The targets of the Comprehensive Program for CEMA Countries' Scientific and Technical Progress Through the Year 2000 are being met. The USSR Ministry of the Chemical Industry effected delivery of 54 tonnes of especially pure substances for the microelectronic industry.

Since the beginning of the year, more than 1,200 independent scientific research, design, and technological organizations have switched to full economic accountability and self-financing. Scientific organizations under ministries in the machine building, chemical and timber industry, and metallurgy complexes are operating in the new conditions of economic management, as are sector organizations resolving problems in light industry, the gas and oil extracting industry, and transport.

Elaborations by intersector science and technology complexes have been used to develop a number of advanced types of output, including automatic electrohydraulic complexes for vibration testing of the reliability and durability of motor cars and components, ore crushers, and fiber optic cables. A number of intersector science and technology complexes failed to ensure the concentration of efforts and resources on the solution of problems facing them, this being due to lagging in the development of their trial and experimental base and the

shortage of resource backing. The target for construction and commissioning of trial and experimental bases, laboratory test centers, and other projects was not met.

Output quality. Some 8 percent of output worth more than R7 billion was not passed on first submission during the first 6 months at industrial enterprises and associations operating in conditions of state acceptance; the value of output finally rejected amounts to R40 million.

Poor-quality articles continued to be delivered to the trade network. Some 5-10 percent of the checked quantity of knitwear, sewn goods, textiles, and footwear were either downgraded or returned for rectification by retail trade organizations under union republic ministries of trade. Just as before, poor quality output was manufactured by a number of enterprises under ministries of light industry in the Transcaucasian and Central Asian republics—the Bukhara, Kutaisi, Leninakan, Spitak, and Dushanbe sewn goods production associations, the Bukhara and Leninakan knitwear factories, Tbilisi's "Isani" and the Ashkhabad footwear production associations, and others.

Utilization of production potential. Serious shortcomings remain in the assimilation and utilization of newly commissioned and reconstructed capacities.

During the period under review, 451 of the most important national economic projects newly commissioned or reconstructed in 1987-1988 were inspected, and their capacity utilization was found to be 76 percent on average. Timetables for assimilating capacities were not met on more than 60 percent of projects, and the average loading level at these projects was only 54 percent. A number of production units were standing idle and, specifically, at the beginning of June there was no production of cotton textiles by the facility commissioned in December 1987 at the Glukhovskiy (Moscow Oblast) cotton textile combine under the USSR Ministry of Light Industry, or of agricultural machines at the Kamenets-Podolskiy agricultural machine plant under the USSR Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building. The manufacture of motor cars using the new facilities of Zaporozhye's "Kommunar" Plant under the USSR Ministry of the Automotive Industry and of agricultural machines by Neftekamsk's "Bashselmash" Plant under the USSR Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building is lagging behind the planned production norms.

As a result of the lagging allowed to build up in the assimilation and utilization of new capacities, the projects which were inspected short-delivered output worth about R0.6 billion against the plan for the first 5 months.

Resource saving. Savings in the national economy amounted to more than 12 million tonnes of standard fuel, 1 million tonnes of rolled ferrous metal products, 1.5 million tonnes of cement, and 3.5 million cubic meters of lumber. The savings in these most important

types of material resources, except cement, amounted to over one-half of the annual target. More than 80 million gigacalories of secondary fuel resources were included in economic circulation.

The greatest lag in work on saving rolled ferrous metal products was allowed to build up in enterprises under the USSR Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry and the USSR Ministry of the Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry, and of electricity in enterprises under the USSR Ministry of the Timber Industry, the USSR Ministry of the Chemical Industry, the USSR Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment, and Control Systems, and the USSR Ministry of the Automotive Industry.

There was a considerable cutback in the use of mazut as fuel, primarily at thermal power stations. Consequently, and compared with the same period last year, deliveries of furnace mazut by petroleum products supply organs to the USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification during the first 6 months fell by 8.3 million tonnes or 18.7 percent, and gas deliveries (USSR Ministry of the Gas Industry) increased by 12.1 billion cubic meters or 11.6 percent.

Utilization of labor resources. During the first 6 months of 1988 the national economy employed 117.3 million workers and employees against 117.7 million last year. Furthermore, the numerical strength of the workforce in state enterprises in the basic production sectors was reduced by almost 1 million, owing mainly to the improvement of the economic management mechanism and the transfer of workers to new work payment conditions. Jobs are being found for released workers in other organizations and sectors, including the sphere of services for the population, where the number of persons employed increased by 0.6 million during the first 6 months, and in cooperatives.

The number of kolkhoz members in public sector farming stood at 11.6 million, this being a 1-percent decline compared with the first 6 months of last year.

Cooperatives in the production, consumer services, and public catering spheres employed 450,000 persons, while almost 500,000 persons were engaged in individual labor activity.

There was an increase in the number of leaders of industrial enterprises (associations) elected by the labor collectives. As at 1 June, 1 in 5 enterprise directors and 1 in 10 foremen were elected.

Improvement of the economic management mechanism and of management. The radical economic reform and the new methods of economic management are beginning to have a positive effect on the solution of many production and social problems and the atmosphere in labor collectives.

Enterprises which have switched to full economic accountability and self-financing achieved faster growth rates of labor productivity and profits and faster reduction of prime costs.

Their entire growth of industrial output volume was achieved through higher labor productivity with reduction of industrial production personnel numbers. These enterprises ensured a 6.4-percent labor productivity

growth (4.2 percent at enterprises which have not yet switched), and a 12.8-percent profits growth in January-May against 10.2 percent by enterprises not switched to new conditions of economic management. The increase in profits was achieved mainly through reduced prime costs and lower material expenses.

The limit of centralized state capital investments and funds from the resources of enterprises and organizations under industrial ministries operating in conditions of full economic accountability and self-financing was utilized 105 percent during the first 6 months, against a 95-percent utilization at enterprises not switched to the new principles of economic management.

The form of economic accountability based on normative distribution of revenue is spreading. At present there are 172 industrial enterprises applying this form of economic management. Enterprises under the USSR Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry and the Belorussian SSR Ministry of Light Industry met their contract commitments for the first 6 months of 1988 at the level of 99.5 percent and 99.95 percent respectively, with labor productivity growth of 11.4 percent and 6.4 percent.

Meat production (in livestock and poultry live weight) on kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and interfarm enterprises operating in conditions of full economic accountability and self-financing increased by 5 percent compared with the same period of last year, against a 3-percent increase at enterprises not yet switched.

Enterprises in transportation for general use (rail, maritime, air, and motor vehicle) working on the new principles of economic management ensured fulfillment of their basic plan indicators and earned above-plan profits during the first 6 months.

At the same time, the advantages of the new economic mechanism are not being fully utilized. Serious shortcomings have been allowed to occur in the determination of state orders and the application of economic norms, and not all enterprises proved ready to operate in the new conditions of economic management. Wholesale trade in the means of production has not yet properly developed. During the first 6 months it accounted for only about 10 percent of the total volume of sales of output for production and technical purposes.

Measures to improve organizational structures, abolish superfluous links, and cut back the management apparatus continue to be implemented within the framework of the radical economic reform.

Measures are being taken to consolidate the economy's basic link—the production and the science and production associations and enterprises.

Work is being done to step up the integration of science and production through incorporation of scientific research, planning and design, and technology organizations in the science and production and the production associations.

Finances. The profits plan fulfillment in January-May amounted to 109 percent. All union republics except the Azerbaijan SSR and all ministries except the USSR Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building met their plan targets.

Contributions to the state budget in the form of payments from profits and turnover tax exceeded plan levels for the first 6 months by R2 billion. There was an increase in funds left at the disposal of enterprises for the purpose of production and social development.

At the same time, the task of eliminating losses in production is being solved only slowly. Every 5th production association or enterprise in industry and contract construction and installation organization failed to fulfill its financial results plan, while every 10th industrial enterprise is making a loss.

The financial and economic activity of a number of enterprises and sectors is being seriously complicated through the shortage of their own circulating funds.

There are still instances of delayed payments between enterprises and bank loan repayments. As of 1 July this year, overdue payments amounted to R12.9 billion and R8.2 billion respectively, despite a one-third reduction.

Foreign economic activity. The volume of the USSR's foreign trade turnover increased by 5 percent compared with the first 6 months of 1987 to reach R66.5 billion, with a 3-percent increase in export deliveries and a 7-percent increase in imports. There was an insignificant growth in machine building products exports, and fuel and energy commodities still represent the bulk of exports. As of 1 July 1988, 55 ministries and departments and more than 100 associations and enterprises have been given the right of access to external markets. There is further development of new forms of cooperation, and direct production ties with enterprises in other countries are strengthening. There are 66 joint enterprises and 18 international associations and organizations involving Soviet and foreign enterprises and firms registered in the USSR's territory. But the restructuring of foreign economic activity is progressing slowly.

III. Development of Material Production [section subhead]

Industry [main subhead]

During the first 6 months contract commitments for output deliveries in line with state orders and along direct lines were fulfilled 99.3 percent against 98.1 percent in the first 6 months of last year. Contract discipline was breached by 14 percent of associations

and enterprises (24 percent in January-June 1987). Enterprises which allowed lags to build up underdelivered output worth R2.7 billion against R6.6 billion in the corresponding period of last year.

The production of industrial output rose 4.7 percent, and labor productivity increased 5.4 percent. The entire output growth was secured through higher labor productivity with a net reduction in the number of workers. Profits in January-May increased 11.7 percent and above-plan profits amounted to R3.6 billion.

The indicators of activity by national economic complexes, ministries, and departments in the first 6 months of 1988 are as follows (in percentages) [Columns in the following table represent: Column A—Percentage fulfillment of contract commitments for output deliveries; Column B—Percentage of enterprises failing to fulfill contract commitments; Column C—Profits plan fulfillment (January-May); Column D—Growth rate of volume of output (works, services) compared with the first 6 months of 1987; Column E—Labor productivity growth rate compared with the first 6 months of 1987]:

	A	B	C	D	E
Fuel and Energy Complex	99.7	25	108	3.2	4.7
USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification	98.1	40	103	1.0	3.3
(Footnote) (Figures in columns A and B exclude electricity producing enterprises)					
USSR Ministry of the Petroleum Industry	99.9	14	111	1.2	2.8
USSR Ministry of the Gas Industry	100	Nil	106	9.1	11.7
USSR Ministry of the Coal Industry	99.6	26	118	4.1	5.0
Metalurgy Complex	99.3	21	109	3.6	6.2
USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy	99.1	28	112	4.0	6.9
USSR Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy	99.8	11	106	2.7	4.9
Machine Building Complex	98.5	38	105	7.0	7.9
USSR Ministry of Heavy and Transport Machine Building	97.5	45	104	8.9	9.8
USSR Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry	97.6	46	103	9.0	8.2
USSR Ministry of Chemical and Petroleum Machine Building	98.6	43	106	9.8	8.5
USSR Ministry of the Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry	98.5	33	102	4.7	6.2
USSR Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment, and Control Systems	98.5	26	105	9.5	12.5
USSR Ministry of the Automotive Industry	99.5	35	113	4.7	5.4
USSR Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building	98.7	34	99	5.2	6.4
USSR Ministry of Construction, Road, and Municipal Machine Building	98.4	66	111	10.5	11.4
Chemical Industry and Timber Complex	99.0	32	110	4.5	7.0
USSR Ministry of the Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry	99.4	30	109	2.8	12.2
USSR Ministry of the Chemical Industry	98.7	33	113	7.2	9.7
USSR Ministry of the Production of Mineral Fertilizers	98.7	22	112	2.8	4.7
USSR Ministry of the Medical and Microbiological Industry	99.6	13	100.7	7.0	8.4
USSR Ministry of the Timber Industry	98.6	37	112	5.1	8.2
Agro-Industrial Complex	99.8	8	105	2.8	3.9
USSR Gosagroprom	99.8	9	106	3.3	4.3
USSR Ministry of the Fish Industry	99.9	8	100.7	2.7	5.9
USSR Ministry of Grain Products	99.7	4	107	0.9	0.5
Social Complex (USSR Ministry of Light Industry)	99.5	12	109	5.5	7.4
Construction Industry Complex (USSR Ministry of the Construction Materials Industry)	99.4	14	106	3.5	7.7

Data on industry's work in the first 6 months of 1988 by union republics (including industry under union jurisdiction) is cited below (in percentages) [Columns in the following table represent: Column A—Percentage

fulfillment of contract commitments for output deliveries; Column B—Percentage of enterprises failing to fulfill contract commitments; Column C—Growth rate of volume of output (works, services) compared with the first

6 months of 1987; Column D—Labor productivity growth rate compared with the first 6 months of 1987:

	A	B	C	D
RSFSR	99.2	15	4.4	6.0
Ukrainian SSR	99.1	12	5.0	5.9
Belorussian SSR	99.95	3	6.7	6.6
Uzbek SSR	98.8	16	1.9	0.8
Kazakh SSR	99.5	9	4.5	4.9
Georgian SSR	99.4	12	3.4	4.7
Azerbaijan SSR	99.0	10	4.0	4.3
Lithuanian SSR	99.9	3	5.0	6.2
Moldavian SSR	99.4	11	5.6	6.1
Latvian SSR	99.7	6	5.3	8.1
Kirghiz SSR	99.4	14	9.0	9.1
Tajik SSR	99.4	16	6.1	5.2
Armenian SSR	99.0	15	6.1	6.1
Turkmen SSR	99.4	11	7.0	7.2
Estonian SSR	99.8	7	3.1	5.4

The work of national economic complexes in the first 6 months of 1988 is characterized by the following figures:

Fuel and Energy Complex [subhead]

	Actual in 1st 6 months of 1988	Percentage target fulfillment	1st 6 months of 1988 as percentage of 1st 6 months of 1987
Electricity, billion kilowatt-hours	860	100.8	103
Oil (including gas condensate), million tonnes	312	101	101
Gas, billion cubic meters	383	103	107
Coal, million tonnes	393	104	103

The fuel and energy complex sectors worked steadily. The extraction of oil, including gas condensate, was 4.3 million tonnes above the set target, gas extraction was 10.5 billion cubic meters above target, and coal extraction was 14.5 million tonnes above target including 5.5 million tonnes of coking coal. At the same time, unsatisfactory

work by a number of the complex' enterprises prevented contract commitments to consumers from being met in full. The production associations which failed to meet their targets include the "Antratsit" and the "Stakhanovugol" Production Associations of the USSR Ministry of the Coal Industry and the "Sakhalinmorneftegaz" Production Association of the USSR Ministry of the Petroleum Industry. The complex's enterprises had a shortfall of output deliveries worth R80 million.

Metallurgy Complex [subhead]

	Actual in 1st 6 months of 1988	Percentage target fulfillment	1st 6 months of 1988 as percentage of 1st 6 months of 1987
Steel, million tonnes	81.7	100.7	101
Rolled ferrous metal products (finished), million tonnes	57.7	101	103
Steel pipes, million tonnes	10.3	100.9	103
Iron ore, million tonnes	125	101	100.5

The metallurgy complex enterprises coped with the first 6 months' targets for the basic types of ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy products. Nevertheless, output was less than planned in terms of cold-rolled sheet metal, high-impact pump-compressor and drilling pipes, high-grade cold-drawn steel, and a number of other advanced types of metal products, and this prevented the performance of contract commitments to consumers in full.

The complex' enterprises failed to deliver output worth R261 million to consumers.

The greatest lag in output deliveries was allowed to build up by the following: the Kommunaraskiy metallurgical combine (96 percent fulfillment), the "Zaporozhstal" metallurgical combine (95.1 percent), the Makeyevka metallurgical combine (94.7 percent), the "Dnepropetavsk" electrometallurgical plant (91.5 percent), the Yenakiyevo metallurgical plant (94.3 percent), and the Uzbek metallurgical plant (88.7 percent).

Machine Building Complex [subhead]

	Actual in 1st 6 months of 1988	Percentage target fulfillment	1st 6 months of 1988 as percentage of 1st 6 months of 1987
Generators and turbines, million kilowatts	7.0	99.7	117
Large electric machines, thousands	12.3	96	99

	Actual in 1st 6 months of 1988	Percentage target fulfillment	1st 6 months of 1988 as percentage of 1st 6 months of 1987
Special, specialized, and aggregate metal-cutting machine tools, thousands	24.2	99	95
Metal cutting machine tools, with digital program control, thousands	11.0	103	104
Forging and pressing machines, with digital program control, thousands	1.0	114	128
Instruments, automation equipment, and spare parts, billion rubles	2.7	102	108
Medical equipment and spare parts, million rubles	480	106	109
Computer equipment and spare parts, billion rubles	3.0	104	115
Milling equipment, million rubles	114	97	113
Petroleum apparatus, million rubles	135	96	109
Chemical equipment and spare parts, million rubles	520	99.2	111
Tractors, million horsepower	26.4	98	102
Agricultural machines, billion rubles	2.1	99.8	100.1
Machines and equipment for stockraising and feed production, billion rubles	1.5	99.3	102
Excavators, thousands	21.2	98	105
Technological equipment for the production of ferroconcrete structures and components, million rubles	86.5	99.9	100.1

The work of the machine building complex ministries improved somewhat. The manufacture of output in the complex increased by 7 percent, which was 50 percent higher than in industry as a whole. There was a considerable increase in the manufacture of computer equipment, a number of types of metallurgy equipment and of chemical industry and oil and gas processing equipment.

At the same time, the development of machine building and the renewal of its material and technical base are lagging behind the set targets, including in priority sectors like the electrical equipment industry and the machine tool building industry; the quality of electronic industry products is improving only slowly. The volume

of output short-delivered by enterprises and associations under the ministries which comprise this complex amounted to R715 million during the 1st 6 months. The laggard enterprises include the "Zhdanovtyazhmash" Production Association under the USSR Ministry of Heavy and Transport Machine Building (failed to deliver output worth R21 million), the "Sredazkabel" Production Association under the USSR Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry (R11.6 million), and the Kharkov tractor motors plant under the USSR Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building (R13.9 million).

Chemical and Timber Industry Complex [subhead]

	Actual in 1st 6 Months of 1988	Percentage target fulfillment	1st 6 Months of 1988 as Percentage of 1st 6 Months of 1987
Mineral fertilizers (in 100-percent nutrient equivalent), million tonnes	18.7	102	104
Chemical plant protection agents (in 100-percent active ingredient equivalent) thousand tonnes	168	102	98
Sulfuric acid, million tonnes	14.7	99	103
Caustic soda, million tonnes	1.7	98	103
Chemical fibers and yarns, thousand tonnes	783	103	103
Tires for trucks, millions	13.8	100.1	102
Tires for cars, millions	11.8	103	107
Tires for agricultural machines, millions	6.0	100.1	99
Medicines, billion rubles	1.8	100.9	105
Commercial timber, (excluding kolkhoz timber procurements), million trimmed cubic meters	177	100.3	100.6
Paper, million tonnes	3.2	102	103
of which newsprint, billion square meters	18.3	102	103

There was an increase in the manufacture of advanced types of output—synthetic fibers and yarns, radial tires, plastic construction materials, hardwood fiber boards, and packaging cardboard.

But the state order targets were not met in terms of chemical raw material products (sulfuric acid, synthetic ammonia, caustic soda), the most important types of polymer materials and products (polyethylene, polystyrene, PVC, and thermoplastic pipes), and woodchip and cement chip slabs.

The lowest level in performance of output delivery commitments was achieved by the following production associations: "Khimprom" in Sayanskiy Rayon (89.8 percent), Volgograd's "Kaustik" (93.8 percent), and Sumgait's "Orgsintez" (93.8 percent) under the USSR Ministry of the Chemical Industry; the Turkmen nitric fertilizers plant (47.4 percent), Dorogobuzh's "Minudobreniya" (83.2 percent), Dneprodzerzhinsk's "Azot" (92.0 percent), and Gorlovka's "Stirol" (91.3 percent) under the USSR Ministry of the Production of Mineral Fertilizers; and the Kama pulp and paper combine (90.4 percent) and enterprises of the "Sverdlesprom" Association (94.7 percent) and the "Krasnoyarsklesprom" Association (96.3 percent) under the USSR Ministry of the Timber Industry.

Industry Within the Construction Industry Complex [subhead]

	Actual in 1st 6 months of 1988	Percentage target fulfillment	1st 6 months of 1988 as percentage of 1st 6 months of 1987
Cement, million tonnes	69.5	102	102
Asbestos cement sheet (shingles), billion standard tiles	4.4	101	100.7
Asbestos cement pipes and sleeves, thousand km standard pipes	41.0	101	101
Soft roofing and insulation materials, billion square meters	1.0	100.7	102
Window glass, million square meters	139	99.7	100.4

Targets were not met as regards the manufacture of structures for large-panel housing construction (97 percent), sectional buildings (modules) made of light metal structures (99.3 percent), and domestic gas cooker hobs (99.8 percent). Output of window glass fell short of set targets by 659,000 square meters, and the Gusev glass plant accounted for 70 percent of the glass that the sector failed to deliver.

The loading of new capacities was only 50 percent in building bricks production, 60 percent in large-panel housing construction, and 74 percent in claydite production. Production at these facilities fell short of the plan by 230,000 square meters of panels and other structures for large-panel housing construction, by more than 100 million building bricks, and by 26,000 cubic meters of claydite.

The fulfillment of the targets for the production of nonfood consumer goods is characterized by the following figures:

	Actual in 1st 6 months of 1988	Percentage target fulfillment	1st 6 months of 1988 as percentage of 1st 6 months of 1987
Cotton fabrics, billion square meters	4.1	100.9	103
Linen, hemp, and jute fabrics, million square meters	498	100.7	102
Woolen fabrics, million square meters	364	100.6	103
Silk fabrics, billion square meters	1.1	102	105
Knitted articles, millions	954	100.7	104
Hosiery, billion pairs	1.1	101	105
Sewn goods, billion rubles	104	103	
Footwear, million pairs	422	100.5	102
of which children's	190	102	102
Television sets, millions	4.8	99.5	113
of which, color sets	2.8	100.7	135
Refrigerators and freezers, millions	3.1	100.7	106

	Actual in 1st 6 months of 1988	Percentage target fulfillment	1st 6 months of 1988 as percentage of 1st 6 months of 1987
Radio receivers, millions	4.0	93	99.5
Tape recorders, millions	2.7	95	117
Videorecorders, thousands	31	101	208
Sewing machines, thousands	807	93	110
including "zigzag" type	514	103	109
Washing machines, millions	3.0	96	109
Vacuum cleaners, millions	2.4	99.5	109
Furniture, billion rubles	4.6	102	108
Motor cycles, thousands	491	99.6	103
Bicycles (excluding children's), millions	2.8	99.8	103
Automobiles, thousands	660	100.6	99.96
Clocks and watches, millions	36.6	101	106
Chinaware and earthenware, million rubles	525	102	107
High-grade (glass and crystal) tableware, million rubles	491	105	112
Wallpaper, million standard lengths	277	102	110
Disposable paper products, million rubles	406	104	113
Elements and batteries for electrical household arti- cles, millions	493	100.2	107

The manufacture of consumer goods increased by 7 percent during the first 6 months compared with the corresponding period last year and reached R165 billion (in retail prices).

The development of nonfood goods production was accelerated. Their total manufacture increased by 10 percent. But many enterprises are still not coping with set targets: One in five allowed a lag to build up in the machine building complex, and one in six did so in the chemical and timber industry complex.

Production was less than planned in terms of radio receivers (309,000), tape recorders (144,000), sewing machines (63,000), washing machines (111,000), vacuum cleaners (12,000), and motor cycles (2,200).

There were certain positive changes in the work of enterprises under the USSR Ministry of the Light Industry. Targets for goods on the basic products range list were met during the 1st 6 months.

The manufacture of finished light industry products in retail prices increased by R3 billion or 8.5 percent compared with the corresponding period of last year.

At the same time, virtually the entire growth was secured through increased production of "N" grade improved-quality products and especially of fashionable goods sold at contract prices, while the manufacture of a number of goods in mass demand and of children's goods in particular was cut back.

On the whole, however, the inadequate technical standards of the sector's production apparatus prevents a radical renewal of the products range and improvement of goods quality. A large proportion of the manufactured output is not in demand by consumers; some 205 enterprises and associations under the USSR Ministry of the Light Industry (12 percent) were in breach of the products range agreed with consumers. They failed to deliver specifically ordered output and goods worth R240 million.

Agro-Industrial Complex [subhead]

Food industry enterprises in the agro-industrial complex met the targets set for the first 6 months of 1988 for the manufacture of the most important foodstuffs.

The production of basic foodstuffs is characterized by the following data:

	Actual in 1st 6 months of 1988	Percentage target fulfillment	1st 6 months of 1988 as percentage of 1st 6 months of 1987
Meat (industrially processed) million tonnes	6.2	107	104
Sausage products, million tonnes	1.9	103	104
Butter, thousand tonnes	862	109	108
Wholmilk produce, in milk equivalent, million tonnes	16.9	104	103

	Actual in 1st 6 months of 1988	Percentage target fulfillment	1st 6 months of 1988 as percentage of 1st 6 months of 1987
Full-fat cheese, thousand tonnes	452	104	105
Edible fish products, including canned fish, million tonnes	2.9	106	102
Margarine products, thousand tonnes	851	101	104
Vegetable oil, million tonnes	1.7	103	109
Granulated sugar, million tonnes	3.7	105	93
Confectionery products, million tonnes	2.5	103	105
Canned food, billion standard cans	7.3	108	107
including fruit and vegetables	4.5	110	108
of which, fruit juices	2.0	118	114
Mineral water, million dekaliters	86.5	104	110
Nonalcoholic beverages, million dekaliters	312	104	114

The 6-month targets for meat production were not met by enterprises in the Uzbek SSR and the Turkmen SSR. Meat and butter production fell at industrial enterprises in the Georgian SSR, the Tajik SSR, and the Estonian SSR. The quality of foodstuffs produced by a number of enterprises remains poor.

Areas sown to 1988 crops amounted to 211.2 million hectares, including 116.1 million hectares sown to grain and pulse crops. This year the area sown to winter grain crops was expanded by 3.5 million hectares compared with last year. These crops account for 26 percent of the total area sown to grain crops. Larger areas were sown to sunflowers and feed crops.

Hay mowing and feed procurement are under way everywhere. At the same time, the pace of this work is slower than last year's in many regions of the country.

Harvesting of grain crops is under way in the country's southern regions. But there are large amounts of defective equipment in agricultural enterprises. The package of measures in preparation for harvesting in complex weather conditions was not implemented everywhere.

There was an increase in purchases of hothouse and early open air vegetables. The total quantity purchased by 27 June 1988 was 1.5 million tonnes, which was 70,000 tonnes more than by the same date in 1987. Purchases included 506,000 tonnes of cucumbers, 113,000 tonnes of tomatoes, and 449,000 tonnes of cabbage. Purchases of early vegetables increased in farms in the RSFSR, the Ukrainian SSR, the Belorussian SSR, the Uzbek SSR,

the Azerbaijan SSR, the Moldavian SSR, and the Turkmen SSR. Vegetable purchases in the other union republics were below last year's level.

During the first 6 months the country's industrial centers were supplied with 564,000 tonnes of early vegetables and 7,400 tonnes of stone fruit and berries. As at 27 June, the 6-months target for vegetable deliveries to all-union stocks was fulfilled 95 percent, with a 41-percent fulfillment in terms of stone fruit and berries. Vegetable delivery targets were not met by the Georgian SSR, the RSFSR, the Azerbaijan SSR, and Turkmen SSR, and the Armenian SSR.

There was an increase in the production and purchases of stock raising products.

During the first 6 months kolkhozes, sovkhoses, and interfarm enterprises produced 10.6 million tonnes of meat (live weight), which is 4 percent more than in the same period last year, 43.6 million tonnes of milk (5 percent more), and 31.6 billion eggs (5 percent more).

There was a reduction of meat production at agricultural enterprises in the Moldavian SSR and the Estonian SSR; of milk production in the Georgian SSR, the Armenian SSR, and the Azerbaijan SSR; and of egg production in the Georgian SSR, the Turkmen SSR, and the Armenian SSR. Average milk yields per cow increased on farms in all union republics except the Armenian SSR. But the dairy herd productivity achieved during the 1st 6 months (1,451 kg on average) with virtually no change in the herd size fails to ensure the necessary growth of milk production and the satisfaction of the population's needs for this product. Dairy productivity on farms in the Turkmen, Uzbek, Azerbaijan, Armenian, Kazakh, and Georgian SSR's is 15-28 percent below the country as a whole.

Purchases of stockraising products on all categories of farms were as follows:

	1st 6 months 1987	1988	1988 as percentage of 1987
Livestock and poultry, (live weight, million tonnes)	10.6	11.1	105
Milk, million tonnes	36.7	38.8	106
Eggs, billions	28.8	30.0	104

All union republics met the targets for deliveries of meat and dairy products to all-union stocks.

The maintenance of livestock numbers on agricultural enterprises improved this year in comparison with the corresponding period of last year. At the same time, the decline in livestock numbers continues in some union republics. During the 1st 6 months the country as a whole registered a fall of 1.5 million head of cattle, 3.4 million hogs, and 4.3 million sheep and goats. The decline of cattle numbers increased on farms in the Azerbaijan SSR and the Armenian SSR and of hog numbers in the Belorussian SSR, the Azerbaijan SSR, the Lithuanian SSR, and the Latvian SSR.

The livestock and poultry herd on kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and interfarm enterprises changed as follows (in million heads):

	1 July 1987	1 July 1988
Cattle	99.3	97.6
including cows	29.2	28.9
Hogs	59.4	58.4
Sheep and goats	142.9	145.0
Poultry	787.7	790.7

Major structural transformations are taking place in the agro-industrial complex, aimed at the development of fundamentally new forms for managing agriculture. At present there are 187 agro-industrial combines and associations and 62 agrofirms ensuring close collaboration in the production, processing, and marketing of agricultural produce.

By the beginning of June, 15,000 of the country's kolkhozes and sovkhozes were applying leasing contracts, which are most widespread in the RSFSR, the Ukrainian SSR, and the Kazakh SSR. At the same time, farm leaders and specialists in many places fail to give sufficient attention to the creation of leasing collectives.

Contract commitments were fulfilled as regards deliveries of tractors, a number of types of agricultural machines, mineral fertilizers, and chemical feed additives.

Deliveries included 174,000 tractors, 106,000 tractor plows, 36,000 grain harvesting combines, 20,000 feed harvesting combines, 4,500 potato picking combines, 40,000 tractor mowers, 2,800 self-propelled mower-rollers, 34,000 windrow harvesters, 13,000 pickup balers, 1,500 baled and rolled hay crushers, 1,300 equipment units for the preparation of loose feed mixtures, and 10,000 sprinkling machines and installations. Contract commitments were not fulfilled as regards deliveries of tractor mowers, windrow harvesters, pickup balers, hay crushers, equipment units for the preparation of loose feed mixtures, and sprinkling machines and installations.

Deliveries of mineral fertilizers (in 100-percent nutrient equivalent) amounted to 13.7 million tonnes, which was 301,000 tonnes less than in the corresponding period last year, while deliveries of chemical feed additives amounted to 688,000 tonnes or 157,000 tonnes more.

Capital investment in the development of the agro-industrial complex (including sectors supplying production equipment for agriculture) totaled approximately R26 billion from all sources of finance.

Stockraising premises, mechanized stock units and complexes for keeping livestock and poultry, silage and haylage facilities, and hay storage facilities were constructed. Storage facilities for potatoes, vegetables, and fruit were commissioned.

Some 332,000 hectares of irrigated and drained lands were commissioned, and land improvement work was carried out on an area of 375,000 hectares of agricultural fields not requiring drainage.

There was an increase in capacities for the production of of wholemilk products, canned fruit and vegetables, confectionery products, and meat; elevators, mixed feed enterprises, and milling enterprises were commissioned.

Capital Construction [main subhead]

Fixed capital worth R49.3 billion was commissioned out of state centralized capital investments and funds of enterprises and organizations during the first 6 months of 1988.

State centralized capital investments were assimilated to the tune of R51.7 billion, or 97 percent of the quota set for this period. The utilization of state centralized capital investments during the first 6 months was 97 percent in the metallurgy and machine building complexes, 85 percent in the chemical and timber industry complex, and 95 percent in the construction industry complex.

The transfer of enterprises and organizations to full economic accountability and self-financing made it possible to sharply increase the volume of capital investment funded from enterprise and organization resources, as the

funded from enterprise and organization resources, as the following data shows:

	1st 6 months of 1988 as percentage of 1st 6 months of 1987	
	Total capital investment	Including funded from enterprise and organization resources
Total for national economy	106	140
Fuel and energy com- plex	111	170
Metallurgy complex	96	30
Machine building complex	99.3	10
Chemical industry and timber complex	107	60
Construction industry complex	103	140

Enterprises and organizations utilized R29.9 billion of their own resources and their proportion in the total volume of capital investment in the national economy amounted to 37 percent, including 28 percent in the fuel and energy complex, 49 percent in the metallurgy complex, 65 percent in the machine building complex and the chemical and timber industry complex, and 45 percent in the construction industry complex.

The proportion of capital investment funded from enterprise and organization resources was assimilated and the 6-months target was exceeded by 7 percent.

The following were commissioned during the first 6 months of 1988: The first turbine at Volzhskaya No 2 TETS in Volgograd Oblast, coal extraction capacities at the "Urgal" (Phase II) mine in Khabarovsk Kray, steel production capacities at the Far East Metallurgical Plant in Komsomolsk-na-Amure, polyethylene production capacities at Sumgait's "Polisinter" Production Association, capacities for the production of tower cranes with

a lifting capacity of 8 tonnes and more at the Rzhev crane building plant in Kalinin Oblast, and other production projects. Capacities for consumer goods production were increased. A number of long-distance gas pipeline sectors were commissioned.

At the same time, the target set for the first 6 months for the commissioning of production capacities was not fulfilled, and only 101 projects were commissioned out of the 171 state order projects (including projects not commissioned in 1987). The following were not commissioned: the first turbine at the Komsomolskaya No 3 TETS in Khabarovsk Kray and the latest turbine at the Novosibirsk No 5 TETS by the USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification; capacities for the production of rolled ferrous metal products at the Uzbek metallurgical plant in Tashkent Oblast and for the processing of metal scrap in the "Vtorchermet" Shop in Kaliningrad by the USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy; capacities for the production of sodium nitrate at Gorlovka's "Stirol" Production Association in Donetsk Oblast by the USSR Ministry of the Production of Mineral Fertilizers; capacities for the production of power transformers at the Zaporozhye transformers plant by the USSR Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry; and capacities for the production of laminated veneers at Riga's "Lignums" Plant by the USSR Ministry of the Timber Industry.

The volume of contract work carried out by construction and installation organizations increased by 6 percent, and labor productivity grew by 7.9 percent. The entire growth in the volume of work was achieved through increased labor productivity.

The contract work plan for construction organizations as a whole was fulfilled 103 percent.

The following data describe plan fulfillment and the growth rate of volume of contract work and labor productivity by ministries and departments in the construction industry complex:

	Percentage of 1st 6 months plan fulfillment for total volume of contract work	1st 6 months of 1988 as percentage of 1st 6 months of 1987	
		Volume of contract work	Labor productivity
Construction industry complex—total	103	106	108.8
Including: USSR Ministry of Construction in the Northern and Western Regions of the USSR	103	107	111.7
USSR Ministry of Construction in the Southern Regions of the USSR	100.3	104	110.0
USSR Ministry of Construction in the Urals and West Siberia Regions of the USSR	100.2	104	108.8
USSR Ministry of Construction in the Eastern Regions of the USSR	99.5	103	110.3
USSR Ministry of Installation and Special Construction Work	106	104	107.0
USSR Ministry of Transport Construction	108	109	112.4

Union republic ministries of construction and gostroys,
RSFSR Ministry of Housing and Civil Construction
Main administrations for construction under local soviet
ispolkoms

Percentage of 1st 6 months plan fulfillment for total volume of contract work	1st 6 months of 1988 as percentage of 1st 6 months of 1987	Volume of contract work	Labor productivity
101		106	108.0
103		105	106.6

More than one-fourth of construction and installation organizations within the complex failed to cope with their contract work plans. Set targets were thwarted by construction ministries in the Georgian SSR, the Azerbaijan SSR, the Moldavian SSR, the Tajik SSR, the Armenian SSR, and the Turkmen SSR, the Kirghiz SSR Gostroy, the Minsk City Main Administration for Housing and Civil Construction, and the Baku City Main Administration for Housing and Civil Construction.

The level of contract works plan fulfillment at projects scheduled for commissioning was lower than for all construction projects as a whole and stood at 97 percent. None of the construction industry complex ministries, except the USSR Ministry of Transport Construction and the Lithuanian SSR Gostroy, ensured fulfillment of their set targets.

While the contract works plan was fulfilled at projects for the machine building and the fuel and energy complexes, construction work was lagging at projects for the metallurgy and chemical and timber industry complexes.

Transport and Communications [main subhead]

Freight consignments by general-purpose transport are characterized by the following figures (million tonnes):

	1st 6 months of 1988	1st 6 months of 1988 as percentage of 1st 6 months of 1987
All forms of transport	6,464	102.8
of which:		
Railroad	2,053	103.5
Pipeline	619	103.4
Maritime	130	107.3
River	276	108.4
Motor vehicle	3,384	101.7
Air	2	100.6

Freight consignment targets were met by railroad, river, and motor vehicles transport; maritime transport met the consignment targets for export and import freight.

The freight consignment plan was not fulfilled by the Lvov Railroad (99.8 percent); the motor vehicle freight carrying targets were not met by the Ministry of Motor

Transport in the Moldavian SSR (98 percent) and the Uzbek SSR (99.6 percent); the Northern (88 percent), Far Eastern (99.5 percent), and Black Sea (99.9 percent) Shipping Companies failed to cope with their overseas freight carrying targets.

Passenger turnover on all types of transport for general use increased by 4 percent and reached 522 billion passenger-km. A total of 28 billion passengers were carried (being 103 percent of the corresponding period last year).

Passenger turnover on railroad transport increased 5 percent against January-June last year and reached 190 billion passenger-km. Plan fulfillment was 104 percent.

Passenger turnover in civil aviation increased 4 percent to reach 92 billion passenger-km. The following civil aviation administrations failed to cope with their targets: Magadan (94 percent), East Siberian (98 percent), and Yakut (99 percent).

Violations of traffic schedules continued. Only 89 percent of passenger trains (excluding suburban) and 85 percent of aircraft (excluding local) arrived on schedule. A total of 39,400 trains and 46,800 aircraft arrived with delays. The highest number of train arrival schedule violations occurred on the Azerbaijan Railroad (70 percent), the North Caucasus and Transcaucasian Railroads (78 percent), and the Southern Railroad (80 percent); the highest number of aircraft arrival schedule violations occurred in the Georgian (77 percent) and Armenian (80 percent) Administrations of Civil Aviation and in the Central Regions Administration of Civil Aviation (79 percent).

Passenger carrying operation on urban transport increased by 3 percent against the corresponding period of last year.

Plan targets for passenger carrying operations were not met by all types of electric transport in the Azerbaijan SSR and the Armenian SSR, nor by streetcars in the Georgian SSR. Transport services for the population and their material base need substantial improvement. Around one-tenth of existing streetcar lines are in a dilapidated conditions, one kilometer in every six needs capital repair, and around 20 percent of sleepers and 14

percent of the streetcar and trolleybus powerline network are extremely worn out. One in every five trolleybuses is being used beyond its normative service life.

The labor productivity of workers engaged in railroad transport shipments increased by 7.2 percent during the first 6 months compared with the corresponding period of last year. The prime cost of railroad transport shipments fell 1.5 percent against target; an above-plan profit of R300 million was earned.

An income of R4 billion was received from passengers on general-use buses and in light taxicabs (102 percent of the target and 104 percent of the corresponding period last year).

Sales of communications services to the population totaled R1.8 billion, which is 10 percent more than in the 1st 6 months of last year. The plan was fulfilled by 102 percent. At the same time, there are delays in mail deliveries, long waiting time and no connections for intercity telephone calls, and loss or embezzlement of postal parcels and money remittances.

The number of basic telephones in the general-use telephone network as of 1 July had increased by 1 million sets compared with 1 January 1988 and reached 29 million.

IV. Social Development and the Growth of the People's Living Standards [section subhead]

Labor remuneration and population's incomes. The average monthly money wage of workers and employees in the national economy in the first 6 months of 1988 stood at R213 against R201 in the corresponding period of last year, while the labor remuneration of kolkhoz members in the public sector was R152 against R145 respectively.

The growth of workers' wages in production sectors is continuing in the country. By May this year new, higher wage rates and salary scales had been introduced for one in two workers in production sector enterprises and organizations. The proportion of workers transferred to new work payment terms in the Lithuanian SSR and the Belorussian SSR is higher than in the country as a whole—75 percent and 70 percent respectively—while that proportion in the Azerbaijan SSR and the Uzbek SSR is only 24-26 percent.

The population received from social consumption funds payments and benefits totaling more than R81 billion, this being R4 billion or 5.2 percent more than in the 1st 6 months of last year.

The minimum pensions for kolkhoz members and their families (being paid out for at least 10 years) are being increased.

Money incomes of the families of workers, employees, and kolkhoz members (calculated per family member) increased by 5 percent compared with the corresponding period of last year. More than 80 percent of all incomes of workers' and employees' families and more than 70 percent of the incomes of kolkhoz members' families comes from labor remuneration in public sector production, and around 10 percent comes from payments from social consumption funds (pensions, grants, and various allowances).

Measures were implemented to improve medical services and the material and daily living conditions for orphans and children without parental care. There was an increase in the norms for expenditure on feeding patients and acquiring medical supplies, equipment, and appliances in health care establishments, and the free issuing of medical supplies to treat children under the age of 3 years and other benefits were introduced.

The population's investments in USSR Savings Bank establishments increased by R13 billion during the 1st 6 months and reached R280 billion.

Provision of goods and services for the population. Sales of consumer goods and paid services to the population increased 7.3 percent during the first 6 months of 1988 compared with the corresponding period last year.

The volume of retail commodity turnover in state and cooperative trade amounted to R175.7 billion and was R10.5 billion higher than in the first 6 months of 1987. The retail commodity turnover plan was fulfilled in the country as a whole. At the same time, the Ukrainian SSR, the Turkmen SSR, and the Transcaucasian republics failed to ensure the plan's fulfillment.

Sales of individual commodities in state and cooperative trade are characterized by the following figures (in comparable prices; billion rubles):

	Sold in 1st 6 months of 1988	1st 6 months of 1988 as percentage of 1st 6 months of 1987
Meat and meat products	15.2	105
Fish and fish products	2.6	102
Butter	2.9	106
Vegetable oil	0.8	102
Margarine products	0.7	96
Wholemilk products	4.7	105
Cheese	0.9	103
Eggs	2.6	103
Sugar	3.5	103
Confectionery products	5.9	105

	Sold in 1st 6 months of 1988	1st 6 months of 1988 as percentage of 1st 6 months of 1987
Tea	1.1	109
Bread products, million tonnes	18.5	99
Potatoes, million tonnes	3.2	92
Vegetables, million tonnes	3.6	106
Fruit and citrus fruit, million tonnes	0.8	63
Nonalcoholic beverages, million dekaliters	281	119
Mineral water, million dekaliters	86	114
Fruit and vegetable juices, billion standard cans	3.2	111
Tobacco products	3.4	101
Clothing, linen, and textiles	18.2	102
Knitwear	7.2	103
Hosiery	1.8	112
Footwear	6.5	104
Chinaware, earthenware, and glassware	1.3	104
Soap and detergents	1.0	109
Furniture	4.4	107
Refrigerators and freezers millions	2.5	104
of which, with a capacity of 200 cubic decimeters or more	1.3	105
Washing machines, millions	2.8	110
Vacuum cleaners, millions	2.0	106
Clocks and watches, millions	26.1	103
Cameras, millions	1.2	105
Radio receivers, millions	3.5	92
Television sets, millions	4.0	107
of which, color sets	2.3	122
Tape recorders, millions	2.7	104
Sports goods, billion rubles	0.7	106
Bicycles and mopeds, millions	3.6	103
Motor cycles and scooters, millions	0.8	104
Cars from current production, thousands	386	107

	Sold in 1st 6 months of 1988	1st 6 months of 1988 as percentage of 1st 6 months of 1987
Timber materials, million cubic meters	9.7	108
Slate, billion standard tiles	2.7	113
Gasoline for motor vehicles, million tonnes	3.1	134

Sales of alcoholic beverages in physical terms remained at approximately the same level as in the first 6 months of 1987. Sales of vodka and vodka-liqueur products were 2 percent less, while sales of beer and brandy were 9-10 percent more.

Despite the fulfillment of the commodity turnover plan, the problem of supplying the population with foodstuffs, clothing, and footwear remains especially acute.

Many of the country's regions fail to display the proper activeness as regards boosting the output of stockraising products in order to improve local supplies for the population. Sales of meat and dairy products fell during the 1st 6 months in Novgorod, Kostroma, Tomsk, Tyumen, Voroshilovgrad, Donetsk, Uralsk, and Karaganda Oblasts, the Chechen-Ingush ASSR, and a number of other regions. Supplies of these products for the population increased in Kalinin, Kaluga, Smolensk, Belgorod, Volgograd, Saratov, Zhitomir, Volyn, Vinnitsa, and Ternopol Oblasts, Stavropol Kray, the Belorussian and Lithuanian SSR's, and elsewhere.

Substantial disruptions are allowed to occur in potato, fruit, and vegetable supplies. At the same time, during the 1st 6 months the trade network wrote off and released as livestock feed more than 1.5 million tonnes of potatoes, vegetables, and fruit unfit for human consumption, representing R0.5 billion in retail prices.

The fruit and vegetable range is restricted, and substandard output is often delivered to stores. This happened in Moscow, in Rostov, Lvov, Voroshilovgrad, Kuybyshev, Novgorod, and Vladimir Oblasts, and in many other territories.

The trade network everywhere has inadequate supplies to meet the population's demands for clothing, knitwear, and footwear.

Demand for domestic appliances, radio receivers, and television sets remains unsatisfied, and their range is being renewed only slowly.

Sales of lumber and construction materials increased by 20 percent. Just like in the past, however, the population's demand for many types of these materials is not met. Union republics allowed a lag to build up in the production of local construction materials and their sales to the population.

The volume of paid services supplied to the population amounted to R29.1 billion, this being a 17-percent increase compared with the first 6 months of last year. The sales plan for these services was fulfilled in the country as a whole. Plan fulfillment was not ensured in the Uzbek SSR, the Azerbaijan SSR, the Tajik SSR, and the Armenian SSR.

Workers and employees purchased various materials and articles worth R0.7 billion at their place of work. At the same time, opportunities for broader availability of paid services are not fully utilized—one-half of ministries and departments failed to ensure plan fulfillment.

Consumer services rendered to the population amounted to R6.8 billion, this being 15.7 percent more than in January-June last year. The plan was fulfilled by 102.6 percent. But demand for many types of consumer services remains unsatisfied; due attention is not given to ensuring the prompt fulfillment of orders, there are numerous complaints by citizens concerning the poor standard of services.

Housing and sociocultural construction. State centralized capital investments were used to fund a total area of 24.5 million square meters in apartment blocks, and resources of enterprises and organizations were used to fund 10.8 million square meters. Compared with the corresponding period last year, the commissioning of housing increased by 0.8 million square meters or 2 percent.

The first 6 months' plan for commissioning housing was overfulfilled in the country as a whole. At the same time, the fulfillment of plan targets was not ensured in the Moldavian SSR, the Kirghiz SSR, and the Tajik SSR, nor by the USSR Ministry of Nuclear Power Generation, the USSR Ministry of the Petroleum Industry, the USSR Ministry of Transport Construction, and other ministries and departments.

The proportion of housing built using resources from enterprise and organization funds in the total amount of housing commissioned increased by a factor of 4.9 compared with the 1st 6 months in 1987; the corresponding increase in preschool institutions was by a factor of 7, in polyclinics by a factor of 3.8, and in hospitals by a factor of 9.2. This was assisted by the transition of ministries to full economic accountability and self-financing.

Plan targets for the capital repair of the housing stock were fulfilled by 37-40 percent in the 1st 6 months in the majority of union republics and by approximately 50 percent in the Ukrainian, Georgian, Lithuanian, and Estonian SSR's.

General educational schools with 492,000 pupil places, vocational and technical educational institutions with 21,000 pupil places, preschool institutions with 138,000 places, hospitals with 15,000 beds, polyclinics to handle 38,000 patients per shift, and clubs and houses of culture with 44,000 places were constructed. The plans for commissioning of these facilities were not fulfilled in the country as a whole, nor was the plan fulfilled in the RSFSR, the Belorussian SSR, and the Moldavian SSR.

Compared with the corresponding period last year, commissioning of schools, vocational and technical schools, and preschool institutions declined in the RSFSR, the Ukrainian SSR, and the Belorussian SSR; commissioning of hospitals and polyclinics declined in the Ukrainian SSR, the Belorussian SSR, the Kazakh SSR, the Lithuanian SSR, and the Tajik SSR; commissioning of clubs and houses of culture declined in the Uzbek SSR, the Latvian SSR, and the Kirghiz SSR.

The network of sanatoriums, rest establishments, and tourist hotels and bases was expanded. But the population's needs for organized rest and sanatorium-resort treatment are not being fully met. For example, more than 90 million working people take a rest break during the summer period, and only one-fifth of them do so in sanatoriums or rest establishments.

Around 4 million young men and women acquired secondary education, and more than 2.5 million of them did so in general educational schools.

More than 2 million specialists with higher and secondary specialized education were trained for various sectors of the national economy, including 0.8 million with higher education and 1.3 million with secondary specialized education.

Protection of the environment. The environmental protection works which were carried out made it possible for all enterprises as a whole to reduce the discharge of harmful elements into the atmosphere by more than 1 million tonnes compared with the first 6 months of 1987. The discharge of polluted effluents into water reservoirs was reduced by almost 4 million cubic meters as a result of the application of sanctions against violators of water legislation.

Harmful discharges into the atmosphere were reduced in most union republic capitals, as was the discharge of polluted effluents by a number of enterprises in Kostroma, Ryazan, Gorkiy, Chelyabinsk, Odessa, and Tashkent Oblasts and other regions.

At the same time, serious shortcomings persist in the work on environmental protection. Just as in previous years, many ministries and departments failed to fulfill plans for the construction and commissioning of environmental protection facilities and the implementation of a number of other measures for the rational utilization of nature.

There was an increase in the discharge of pollutants into the atmosphere by enterprises under the USSR Ministry of the Coal Industry and the Lithuanian, Georgian, and Moldavian SSR Councils of Ministers. Their negative effect on the atmosphere of Tbilisi and Tallinn increased, and there was virtually no reduction of harmful discharges in Vilnius.

There were cases of significant pollution of water reservoirs as a result of accidents and wholesale discharge of untreated effluents and pollutants as follows: of Lake Onega as a result of a tanker collision; of the Kuban River as a result of a rupture in the sewage tank in Krasnodar; of the Kura and Kalmius Rivers (Donetsk Oblast) as a result of the discharge of mazut by ferrous metallurgy enterprises, and others. Almost 17,000 persons had administrative proceedings instituted against them for gross violations of water legislation requirements, and fines amounting to about R0.5 million were collected.

The implementation of a package of environmental protection measures continued with the aim of improving the ecological situation in cities and regions with the highest level of environmental pollution and ensuring more rational utilization of natural resources.

The 5-year plan is halfway through. The necessary prerequisites for steady advance have been created. But a radical breakthrough in the quality of economic growth has yet to be achieved. Intensive work lies ahead to further boost the economy and ensure the fulfillment of the 12th 5-Year Plan targets.

[Signed] The USSR State Committee for Statistics

Agricultural

Nikonov Tours Agro-Industrial Facilities
PM2507131988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
24 Jul 88 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "New Plant Commissioned"]

[Text] A new plant for the annual production of 30,000 tonnes of oat flakes, a dietary food which is in great demand, is being commissioned 6 months ahead of schedule in the city of Klin, Moscow Oblast. Ordered by the USSR Ministry of Grain Products, the plant was constructed by the Moscow Oblast Construction Trust and the Buehler-MIAG firm (FRG).

The new enterprise was visited on 23 July by V.P. Nikonov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. He was briefed in detail on the organization and technology of production. The execution of the construction and installation work and the quality of the output were highly appraised by those present.

On the same day V.P. Nikonov met with workers from the "Klinskiy" agrocombine. He visited its trade associations and food stores in Klin.

There was a lengthy conversation with leasing contractors from Klinskiy Rayon's Gorkiy Kolkhoz. Special interest was shown in the results of work done on leasing conditions by the Karpukhin family, which for 3 years has been engaged in milk production on leasing principles. Taking its experience into account, the kolkhoz has switched fully to contract leasing conditions for the production of agricultural products in all its subdivisions.

The kolkhoz is successfully developing subsidiary industries in the quest for additional revenues and in order to improve the utilization of labor resources all year round.

V.P. Nikonov was accompanied by A.D. Budyka, USSR minister of grain products, and V.K. Mesyats, first secretary of Moscow CPSU Obkom.

Stavropol Harvests 1 Million Tonnes of Grain
PM2507151188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
25 Jul 88 First Edition p 1

[Own correspondent V. Pankratov report: "One Million!"]

[Text] Stavropol, 24 Jul—The motherland has received a million tonnes of Stavropol grain—the bulk of it is first- or second-grade wheat (265,000 tonnes first-grade, 500,000 tonnes second).

The leaders in the grain producers' competition are the working people at kolkhozes and sovkhoses in Sovetskiy and Levokumskiy Rayons, who have completed the fulfillment of state orders for grain sales. Many other farms and rayons are near to this goal. Despite the harvesting difficulties, the harvesting workers' mood is combative. The grain farmers are determined to sell the state at least 1.92 million tonnes of grain.

Reports Review Regional Harvesting Progress
PM2507133188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
22 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 2

[V. Gavrichkin "Agricultural Review": "It Is the Fields That Fill the Granaries"]

[Text] Three times more grain than this time last year has been delivered to state granaries to date. According to the USSR State Committee for Statistics, 14.9 million hectares of grain and pulses (excluding corn) had been cut and 9.8 million hectares threshed by 18 July.

According to an old saying, it is not the grain in the fields that counts, but the grain in the granaries. I have no intention of casting doubt on this folk wisdom, but I would like to add that it is the fields which fill the granaries. Is there any cause for joy in the grain fields this year, and will it materialize? Dozens of our readers are asking us this question in their letters. Naturally, it is difficult to answer it exhaustively right now. But we believe that by publishing a number of reports from IZVESTIYA correspondents in various regions we will give them some idea of the situation.

Northeastern oblasts of the Ukraine: The grain that has ripened here is excellent. No one can remember anything like it during the last decade or so: Every hectare promises to yield on average at least 40 quintals. Farms are hoping to fulfill the state order, repay the debts of past years, and lay in sufficient quantities of grain feed. Furthermore, the quality of the grain is high; the gluten content exceeds 23 percent, valuable wheat is coming in.

However, heavy rains have set in. They are creating a tight situation at the moment in the fields in Poltava, Sumy, and Kharkov Oblasts. It is obvious that people here were not prepared for this kind of complication of the harvest, and in a number of places they have lost their heads. The situation as such is difficult. In some fields combines simply cannot be used. On more than half the fields the heavy ears have been flattened against the ground. On average at least 3 quintals of grain per hectare is being lost.

Bashkir ASSR and Orenburg Oblast: The situation in the fields is very critical. Since May it has been incredibly hot. Rare, localized rains have little effect on the situation. One-fourth of the sowings in Bashkiria are parched. In Orenburg Oblast the grain in the virgin land eastern rayons looks somewhat better, but the situation in central, western, and northern rayons is simply depressing. Peas and rye are currently being cut both in Bashkiria and Orenburg Oblast. The grain is puny. Bashkiria has already obtained an allocation for the procurement of straw in Krasnodar Kray. Seed will be harvested, of course, there will be some grain deliveries to the state. Average yields in Bashkiria are estimated at 11 quintals per hectare. In Orenburg people do not even want to estimate.

Voronezh, Lipetsk, and Tambov Oblasts: In Voronezh Oblast the harvest promised to be excellent, but continuous rains and winds have flattened 200,000 hectares of grain, 5,000 hectares of sowings have been destroyed by hail, and in eastern rayons dry winds have parched the crops. However, according to preliminary estimates the expected yields will be no lower than last year.

The first days of the harvest on Lipetsk farms have shown that it is realistic to expect yields of 24-25 quintals on average per hectare. The plan will be fulfilled. Grain

growers intend to sell at least 200,000 tonnes of strong wheats and 100,000 tonnes of valuable wheats, which will account for 50 percent of all deliveries.

In Tambov fields the situation is worse as a result of drought. However, they are counting on 20 quintals per hectare here.

Volgograd Oblast: Everything was going well, but the dry winds and the hot weather at the end of June and in July have led to a deterioration in the situation, especially in trans-Volga rayons. The divergencies in estimated yields are great—from 10-15 and up to 18 quintals per hectare. The yields from the first 200,000 hectares of winter crops total 21 quintals per hectare on average. The quality of the grain is good. For instance, of 93,000 tonnes of wheat delivered to elevators, 36,000 tonnes are quality Class I and II, which means that they have earned 75 and 50 percent bonuses.

Yaroslavl and Ivanovo Oblasts: The hot weather here too has affected the swelling of the grain. However, the yield losses may not be as great as was first assumed. It is possible that the plan will be fulfilled.

Altay Kray: The summer has been dry. However, the drought chart is very varied. On the one hand, in the Rubtsovsko-Aleyskaya and Kulundinskaya steppe zones, which are traditionally drought-ridden, relatively favorable "islands" have formed, and on the other hand, in the trans-Ob region where summer moisture levels are usually sufficient, the grain has been parched on a vast area. In recent days there have been heavy rains and thunderstorms, albeit sporadic ones. This means that the grain may yet swell. Those who dare to make forecasts are saying that it is possible to hope that the plan will be fulfilled (4 million tonnes) or at best slightly overfulfilled.

The situation in Siberia as a whole and in the virgin land oblasts of Kazakhstan can be judged by the state of the crops in Altay fields. This means....

It means that if we manage to harvest everything that we have grown, we will not drop below last year's level of grain production. In many places fields cultivated by means of intensive techniques are a real source of joy.

However, the grain does not come easily. In the Kuban, on the Don, in Stavropol, and in the Ukraine it has to be literally wrenched from the grip of the bad weather. However, the main thing is there is something to get hold of. Unfortunately, the losses in some places are unjustifiably high.

There are noticeable changes in the way grain growers have organized harvest work. For instance, in the aforementioned Volgograd Oblast 78 percent of the arable land is now being worked by economically accountable collectives. Of these 896 collectives are operating the lease contract, 172 are intensive labor collectives, and

782 are paid on the basis of gross revenue. Naturally, there is still too much formalism in the creation of these collectives, there are too many strictures, too many attempts to "follow the fashion." This has happened before. But there is one completely new detail: The collectives themselves, without any prompting, have begun to notice the defects and are themselves looking for new solutions. This has not been the case in the pursuit of "fashion" in the past.

The hitches, of which there are still many, are therefore all the more annoying. For instance, 1,600 "Don" combines have been dispatched to farms without harvesters. According to the most conservative estimates these powerful machines, which are badly needed in the current difficult conditions, could thresh 3.2-3.5 million tonnes of grain! It is time for the Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building to have to answer for this kind of mishap.

In conclusion I cannot but cite yet another report.

Rostov Oblast: The winter crops have turned out well here, but the harvest is difficult.

More than 700,000 tonnes of grain have piled up on threshing floors. There is not enough transport. The oblast grain product administration has concluded contracts with local enterprises for the provision of trucks. However, the Glavrostovstroy, Donvodstroy, Rostovugol, Gukovugol, and other enterprises either refuse to supply trucks for the transportation of grain altogether, or supply unsuitable ones. They sent large panel transporters to Tselinskiy Rayon, for instance, and to Kasharskiy Rayon they sent trucks which are unsuitable for transporting bricks, never mind grain. With this sort of attitude there will be big shortfalls in the granaries.